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*The “Strong and Striking” Likenesses of
William J. Weaver (c.1759-1817): An Introduction*
Paul D. Schweizer

Among the Anglo-American portraitists who plied their trade in North America in the closing years of the eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth century was an artist named William J. Weaver, about whom very little was known until recently.¹ Part of the reason he has been such an enigmatic figure for so long is because there was considerable confusion about his correct full name. This problem can be traced to William Dunlap who, even though his and Weaver's paths may have crossed around 1815, only recorded Weaver's last name in his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*.² In an effort to remedy this oversight, later historians theorizing about Weaver's identity suggested at least eight different first names or initials for sometimes less than rigorous reasons. This confused matters even further, as did the fact that Weaver seems to have used at least two different first names at various times during his peripatetic career.³ The stylistically diverse collection of portraits that have been attributed to Weaver over the years also contributed to his obscurity and made it impossible to speak with any certainty about the characteristics of his portrait style and, by extension, to make any new attributions.

Several important documents that recently came to light have helped in resolving the matter of Weaver's correct names and in establishing the chronological parameters of his career. The discovery of several signed portraits also has facilitated the attribution of other works to Weaver. From these written and visual records, a story has emerged of an artist who began his career in England, worked initially in the United States as an ornamental painter and japanner, and then spent the majority of his twenty-four years in America painting portraits and miniatures in many of the principal cities along the Atlantic seaboard from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Savannah, Georgia. Weaver was not like many portraitists, who traveled throughout the country to refine their skills before settling in an urban center. For whatever reason, he appears always to have been on the move. In this respect his career was similar to someone like Edward G. Malbone who, as a mature artist, constantly traveled in search of portrait commissions.

Most of what was previously known about Weaver was derived from the five sentences Dunlap wrote about him. He noted that Weaver was probably born in England and generally painted small oil portraits on tinplate that typically had a distinctive linear appearance. Dunlap also noted that Weaver's portrait of Alexander Hamilton attracted attention and some professional envy.⁴

Supplementing what Dunlap told us about this artist is Weaver's recently-discovered death certificate, which states that he was born in England and that, when he died in Savannah in August 1817, he was fifty-seven years old.⁵ From this it can be inferred that Weaver was born in 1759 or 1760. Nothing else is known about his years outside North America except that he worked in London for the entrepreneur Joseph Booth, the principal figure in an organization called The Polygraphic Society. In 1794, just one year after a fire destroyed the Society's establishment near London, a "japanner and painter" named Joseph Weaver was listed in the New York City directory for the first time.⁶ In all likelihood this Joseph Weaver was William J. Weaver. Faced with the destruction of The Polygraphic Society's quarters in London and the discouraging prospect that he would have to earn a livelihood in a city that was already overpopulated with artists and artisans, Weaver left England for the United States.⁷

The earliest information about Joseph Weaver in New York City comes from a 1794 newspaper advertisement that describes the decorations and allegorical figures he painted on a musical clock displayed at Gardiner Baker's museum in the Exchange Building on Broad Street.⁸ The following year Joseph Weaver was listed in New York's city directory as an "ornamental painter and japanner," which seems like an appropriate identification for an artist who decorated musical clocks.⁹ In 1796 his name appeared in two different directories. Although both gave his residence as 22 Cedar Street, there are slight but plausible variations in how his name was listed, as well as important differences in the descriptions of his profession. In one directory Joseph Weaver was listed as an "ornamental painter and japanner," and in the other "J. Weaver" was described as a "miniature painter."¹⁰ Even though none of the japan wares or miniatures that Weaver made during these years has been identified, the small engraving that John Scoles made after Weaver's lost "pencil miniature" of the New York City physician and natural philosopher, Samuel L. Mitchill (fig. 1), gives some idea of his portraiture at this time.¹¹

Below Mitchill's profile is an image of two wrestling figures and three Greek words that in translation read: "Eros Defeats Pan." Although the decorations that Weaver painted on the musical clock suggest that he had some knowledge of allegorical iconography, there is no evidence that Weaver designed the emblem below Mitchill's portrait. However, for Mitchill—who liked to quote the classics in his lectures and writings¹²—the image of Eros, the god of love and harmony, triumphing over Pan, the personification of untrammelled nature, was an apt reflection of his search for order and harmony in the fields of medicine, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, and agriculture.¹³

When Weaver first came to New York City in 1794, he would have encountered competition in the field of miniature painting from such artists as Pierre Henri, Philip Parisen, Ebenezer Mack, Peter Meance, and Archibald and Alexander Robertson. By 1797, additional artists such as James Martin, Louis Girault, Alexander Gowan, William Franks, and Charles Saint-Mémin were also seeking portrait commissions there. This may have prompted Weaver to travel elsewhere in search of work, a common practice when the number of portraitists exceeded the demand for their services.¹⁴



Figure 1. Samuel L. Mitchill, engraving, by John Scoles after William J. Weaver, New York, c. 1795. 9 1/8" X 7 7/16. Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society, New York City.

Sometime before the end of November 1798 he was in Halifax, Nova Scotia, which was then the British Army's and Navy's principal military station in North America under the command of Prince Edward, the fourth son of George III. As one of the first professional artists to work in Halifax, Weaver was in an advantageous position to satisfy whatever demand there was for portraits or miniatures among the city's merchants, aristocrats and military officers. Currently, six small portraits that Weaver painted in Nova Scotia have been identified. Five of these were painted on tinplate. There are probably other portraits in Nova Scotia that are not recognized as being by Weaver, because he rarely signed his works and because his portrait style has been only imperfectly understood.¹⁵

Weaver's whereabouts for roughly six years are unknown. In January 1805 a notice that appeared in a New York City newspaper shows that he had returned there.¹⁶ This announcement contains important information about Weaver's efforts to profit from what he learned in London:

Polygraphic art, or the art of multiplying copies of paintings at pleasure, by a chemical and mechanical process, is said by a Mr. Weaver, a portrait painter in this city, and living at 206 Broad-way, to be possessed by him. The process was discovered by a Society in London known by the name of the Polygraphic Society, and this person affirms that he was in their employment. As a specimen of his ability he offers to produce one hundred copies of his painting of Doctor Rodgers, (to be seen at the [Tontine?] Coffee house,) as large as life, for 10 dollars each, or one hundred of the same size with the original picture, at 6 dollars each. We are not enough acquainted with the subject to venture to advance any thing personally respecting it, but from the above painting, and some others that we have seen, we think Mr. Weaver's own pictures possess an uncommon share of merit on the score of their strong and striking likeness; and that he deserves to be known and more encouraged than it would seem he has been.¹⁷

If the statement in this notice that Weaver deserved to be "known and more encouraged" was a reliable indication of the difficulty he was having making a living, it is easy to

understand why this was so. In 1805, New York City portraiture was dominated by the venerable John Trumbull and the fledgling John W. Jarvis. Possibly because of this, Weaver sought to gain notoriety by promoting the sale of one hundred copies of polygraphic reproductions of his now-lost "strong and striking" portrait of a "Doctor Rodgers" in two different sizes.¹⁸ Why Weaver expected to be able to sell so many copies of this portrait is not clear, although one hundred seems to be his standard offering (see, for example, his offer of the Buist engraving in 1808). He may have based the number on other artists' sales of similar works.

While there has been some discussion of the role that The Polygraphic Society played in late-eighteenth century English painting, there has been virtually no recognition that polygraphy was also promoted and apparently used in the United States.¹⁹ Weaver's involvement with this impressively-named but fundamentally-commercial reproductive process distinguishes him from innumerable other artists who were active in North America during the first decades of the nineteenth century. As more is learned about Weaver's involvement with polygraphy, it may turn out to be his most important contribution to American Neoclassical painting.²⁰

During the summer of 1805 newspapers in Boston, Philadelphia, Alexandria, Norfolk, and Charleston announced a subscription for two hundred polygraphic reproductions of three pictures: an allegorical painting of George Washington and two smaller portraits of George and Martha Washington.²¹ One of these paintings was exhibited in Alexandria, possibly Richmond, and probably in other cities as well. Subscriptions for the reproductions were sold at bookstores "throughout the Union" and forwarded to the Philadelphia bookseller, J. Conrad, who may have had some financial interest in this venture.²² While none of the advertisements promoting this scheme mentioned the name of the artist who would make the polygraphic reproductions, it may have been William J. Weaver. The newspapers included the comment that he had "traveled from the Carolinas to Massachusetts," but gave no indication when he was in the South.

In January 1806 at least two Charleston newspapers commented on his presence there. In a city with a distinguished, albeit ephemeral, tradition in portraiture, Weaver announced his willingness to paint oil portraits of varying sizes, ranging in



Figure 2. Daniel Huger, watercolor on ivory, by William J. Weaver, Charleston, 1806. 2 7/8" X 2 3/8" (sight). Private collection, MESDA Research File (MRF) S-8525.



Figure 3. Sarah (Lance) Huger, watercolor on ivory (?), by William J. Weaver, Charleston, 1806. 2 7/8" X 2 3/8" (sight). Private collection, MRF S-8524.

price from twelve to one hundred dollars, that were "as good, if not better likenesses, than has ever appeared in this country."²³ At this time Weaver was living in Charleston at 37 Trott Street. Later that year he moved to a district called Cannonborough just outside the city. Sometime before December 1806, when he moved back into the city from Cannonborough,²⁴ he painted two handsome miniatures of Daniel Huger and his wife Sarah (figs. 2 and 3).²⁵ Although neither appears to be signed, there is good reason to believe they were painted by Weaver because of printed labels on the back of each work's original frame (fig. 4) which read: "WILLIAM J. WEAVER./ *Portrait & Miniature Painter*./ Has removed from No. 37, Trott-Street, to the/ house next door to Mr. WILLIAMSON'S Soap/ and Candle Manufactory, on the road/ over Cannon's Bridge."



Figure 4. Printed label on the reverse of Sarah Huger's miniature (see fig. 3).

Weaver depicted the twenty-seven-year-old Huger and his nineteen-year-old wife dressed in the height of Neoclassical fashion. Sarah is shown nearly full face, with a Titus cut coiffure, earrings, and decorated v-neck dress. Daniel, less frontally presented, and with sideburns, also wears a Neoclassical hairstyle. His coat features high, notched lapels and a high, rolled collar. Sarah's facial features and long graceful neck were drawn by a hand adept in the art of flattery. She appears more at ease than her husband, whose small torso seems corseted in a tightly-fitting, double-breasted coat.

Both miniatures have few dark shadows and a minimum amount of modeling. There is also a comfortable proportional relationship between the figures and their respective backgrounds. These stylistic characteristics and the presentation of the figures in front of pale backgrounds, enhanced with diagonal, widely spaced cross-hatching, show Weaver working in a mode that resembles the work of the fashionable miniaturist Edward Malbone, whom he could have met when Malbone was in Charleston in the spring of 1806. Indeed, it is plausible that Weaver decided to stay in Charleston because of the opportunity created by Malbone's departure from the city later that year. In any event, the light backgrounds of Weaver's miniatures differ in appearance from the ones with dark backgrounds painted by the London-trained artist Samuel Smith, Jr., or the French émigré Jean-François de la Vallée—two artists who also worked in Charleston when Weaver was there.

Another painter in Charleston in 1807, who may have given Weaver some competition in the field of portraiture, was the little-known Silas Dewey.²⁶ Doubtless there were others who have not yet been identified. All of them, coming from different parts of the world, and with different artistic training and portrait styles, provided the citizens of Charleston at that time with a rich artistic offering. Another miniature Weaver probably painted in Charleston around 1806 depicts the planter James Stanyarne, who died in 1780 (fig. 5).²⁷ A second posthumous miniature of Stanyarne, painted by Pierre Henri in 1791 (fig. 6), may be the source Weaver used to create his likeness.²⁸ Assuming that this is so, a comparison of the two miniatures shows how Weaver translated the work of a French miniature painter into an Anglo-American idiom. He replaced Henri's dark green background with a light blue one that is cross-

hatched in a manner comparable to the backgrounds of the Huger pair. He softened the line of Stanyarne's arched eyebrows, included more space around the subject's head, and showed more of the torso. While it might seem that Weaver copied Stanyarne's hair from the Henri miniature, the similar-looking, wispy strands of hair in all three of Weaver's miniatures suggest that this is a hallmark of his technique.



Figure 5. James Stanyarne, watercolor on ivory, attributed to William J. Weaver (after Pierre Henri?), Charleston, c. 1806. 2 3/4" X 2 3/16" (sight). Private collection, MRF S-11,008.



Figure 6. James Stanyarne, watercolor on ivory, by Pierre Henri, Charleston, 1791. 1 13/16" X 1 3/8". Collection of the Gibbes Art Museum, Charleston, MRF S-3447.

In Charleston Weaver also painted a now-lost portrait of Reverend George Buist, who was minister of the city's First Scots Presbyterian Church and President of the Faculty of the College of Charleston when he died in August 1808. Several months later an announcement appeared in Charleston newspapers seeking one hundred subscribers for a sixteen-by-twelve-inch engraving of Buist to be made from "an excellent Painting by Weaver."²⁹ A copy of Weaver's portrait was sent to David Edwin, the renowned Philadelphia engraver.³⁰ Edwin worked on the plate until sometime before September 1810 when the finished engraving was distributed to the subscribers in Charleston.³¹ A cropped impression of this rare print (fig. 7), shows Buist in an academic robe embellished at the neck with clerical Geneva bands.³²

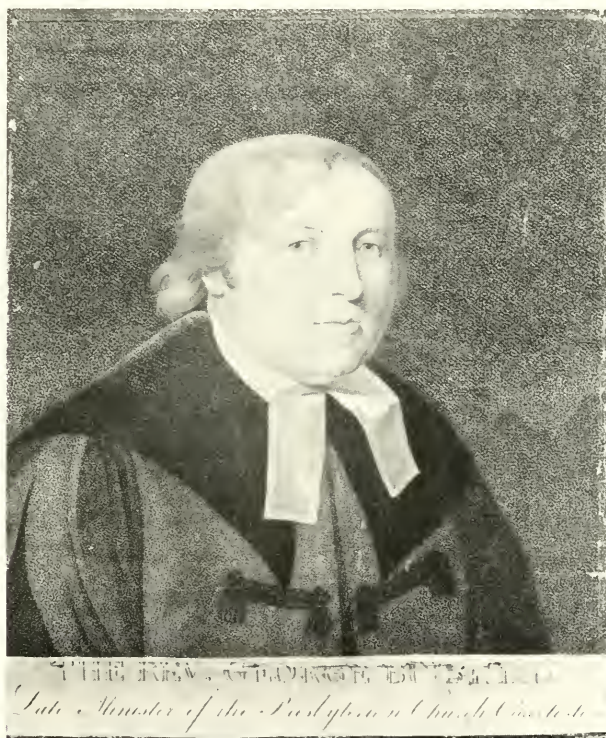


Figure 7. The Reverend George Buist, D.D., engraving, by David Edwin after William J. Weaver, Philadelphia, 1808-10. 12 11/16" X 10 7/16". Private collection, MRF S-8992.

In support of his boast to the citizens of Charleston that he could paint portraits that were "as good, if not better" than the best being produced in the United States, Weaver published an open invitation for prospective patrons to visit his studio so that "the friends of the late General Alexander Hamilton, residing in South Carolina, will be convinced of the truth of the painter's assertion."³³ This suggests that Weaver had a portrait of Alexander Hamilton in his possession that he hoped would demonstrate his skills.

Although Dunlap claimed that Trumbull destroyed Weaver's portrait of Hamilton, the appearance of that lost work may have survived in a group of eight, nearly identical-looking profile portraits that were attributed to Weaver by Harry Bland. The version that was owned by Hamilton's descendants in the second half of the nineteenth century is in the collection of the Indianapolis Museum of Art (fig. 8).³⁴ While Bland was the first to ascribe these works to Weaver, he mistakenly believed that the artist who painted them was named *P. T. Weaver*.

On what authority did Bland assign to Weaver these initials? They appeared in print for the first time in 1926 in a short entry on Weaver published in Mantle Fielding's *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers*.³⁵ Even though Fielding acknowledged a debt to Dunlap, several things he said about Weaver do not derive from that source. Other statements by Fielding contradict new information that has been uncovered about the artist. Fielding's most problematic assertion is that several of Weaver's signed portraits have the initials P. T. No painting has been found with these initials.³⁶ Fielding also stated that Weaver was intemperate. This idea came from Dunlap, who tended to gossip about artists' drinking habits.³⁷ As was noted, Weaver's death certificate suggests that he was born in England, not in Ireland as Fielding claimed. He also stated that Weaver painted on wooden panels. This is true, but Fielding failed to mention that Weaver also worked on tinplate. Finally, Fielding noted that Weaver often painted profile portraits. However, the portraits of Mitchill and Hamilton are the only profiles he is known to have made. Most of Weaver's portraits depict frontally-posed sitters.

After working in Charleston for an undetermined length of time Weaver returned to Massachusetts. Two signed and dated portraits of the New Bedford area couple, George and Priscilla Baker (figs. 9 and 10), suggest that Weaver was active

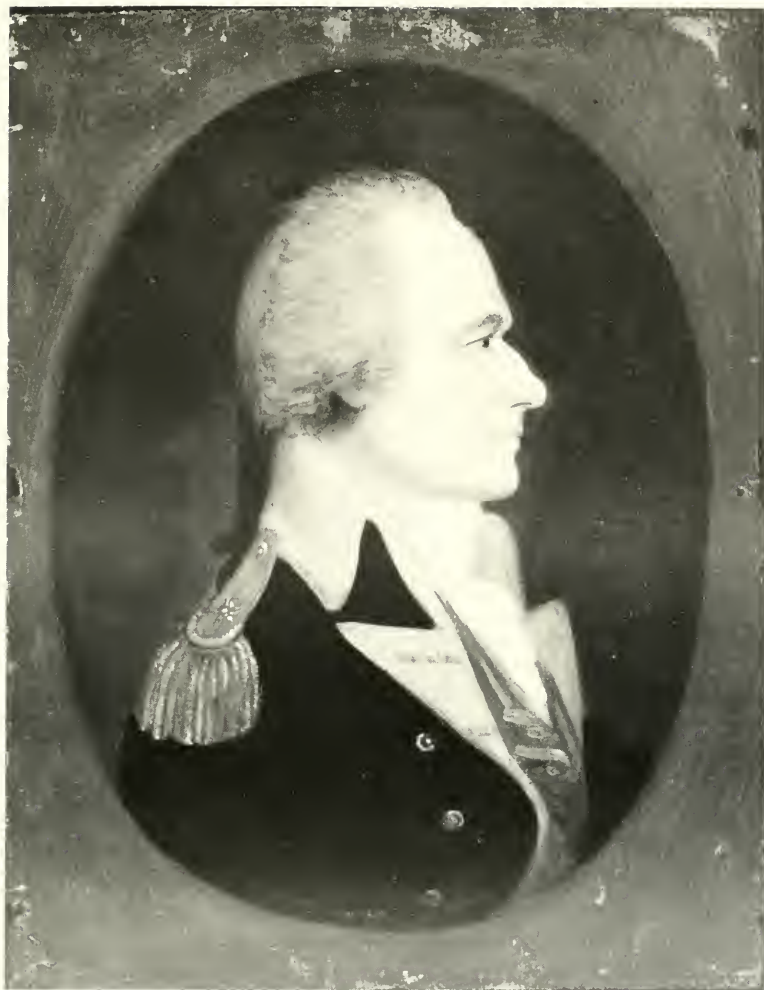


Figure 8. Alexander Hamilton, oil on wood, attributed to William J. Weaver, Charleston, c. 1805, 9 1/2" X 7 1/4". Copyright 1992, Indianapolis Museum of Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Eli Lilly, Sr.

in that region. If these works were painted around New Bedford, Weaver must be considered one of the earliest portraitists to work in that area, where prosperity, brought about by the burgeoning whaling industry, was democratizing the taste for portraits.³⁸ Wooden boards that covered the backs of both



Figure 9. George T. Baker, oil on tinplate, by William J. Weaver, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1808. 14" X 9 3/4". The Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Massachusetts.



Figure 10. Priscilla (Pinkhan) Baker, oil on tinplate, by William J. Weaver, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1808. 14" X 10". The Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Massachusetts.

works have inscriptions noting that they were executed in December 1808, a month after the twenty-year-old George and the seventeen-year-old Priscilla were married.³⁹

For his portrait of Priscilla Baker, Weaver used impasto paint strokes to render her elaborate coiffure and enormous earrings. Graphite lines visible under the paint around Mrs. Baker's mouth, chin, and nose, and along the outer edges of her dress, give some idea of how Weaver initially designed the work. He painted her in a pose that makes her torso appear as if it is leaning away from the picture plane. Whether intentional or not, this gives her a diffident air that contrasts with George Baker's confident gaze. The scale of the two portraits is also different. Priscilla's head and torso are proportionally smaller in relation to the background than her husband's, and her face was rendered in a more linear fashion. It is this quality that Dunlap might have had in mind when he noted that Weaver painted "'inveterate' likenesses, hard as the tin and as cutting in the outline."⁴⁰

Less than two months after painting the Baker portraits, a newspaper advertisement in the *Salem Gazette* establishes that Weaver was then living in Boston:

Specimens of Portrait Painting/ To be seen at Mr. Crombie's Hotel, executed/ by W. J. Weaver, of Boston./ Large size 20 dollars./ Small size 12 dollars./ Should a sufficient number of applicants be made as above, to make it worth his while to come to Salem, he assures them that his productions in point of resemblance shall on comparison, excel any other executed in this place, or no payment will be expected.⁴¹

When Weaver published this notice Gilbert Stuart dominated Boston portraiture. Even though none of the likenesses that Weaver painted in the Boston area has been identified, his prices suggest that he was not attempting to compete with Stuart at the upper end of the portrait market but instead was painting small likenesses or miniatures. Weaver's prices were significantly lower than those Malbone and Robert Field asked for their miniatures but were competitive with Raphaele Peale's fee of ten dollars for a miniature, with the fifteen to twenty dollars that James Sharples charged for a profile or full-face pastel, and with the fifteen dollars that the young Samuel

F. B. Morse charged for small portraits. In Boston, Weaver's fees were comparable to what the painter William Doyle charged for a miniature around the time Weaver was living there in 1809.⁴²

No information has been discovered about where Weaver was for the next six years, during which time Edwin's print after Weaver's portrait of Buist was published in Charleston. By 1815 he was in Utica, New York, which was an important distribution center for westward-bound goods and travellers. This is the most inland city in which Weaver is known to have worked. His presence in Utica leaves open the possibility that he traveled even farther west where there are portraits that are not yet recognized as being by him.

One of the works Weaver painted in Utica is of John C. Bull (fig. 11), who was a stagecoach, sign, and ornamental painter.⁴³ An inscription on the back of the portrait provides worthwhile information about the circumstances of this work's creation and further confirms the matter of Weaver's nationality: "John C. Bull/ + / his wife['s] Likeness/ painted March 1815/ by Mr. W[?] J. Weaver/ an Englishman."⁴⁴ Although the portrait of Bull's wife mentioned in this inscription is lost, his pose suggests that the missing work probably showed Mrs. Bull facing to her right. If this is correct, when the two works were properly displayed side by side, John Bull's portrait would have been to the left of the one of his wife. A similar compositional interrelationship exists between Weaver's portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Huger and Mr. and Mrs. Baker.⁴⁵

It was probably around 1815 that Weaver also painted portraits of at least five members of the Shearman family, four of whom were merchants in or around Utica (figs. 12-15).⁴⁶ Part of an inscription in the front lower left corner of the portrait of Stukely B. Shearman (fig. 14) notes that it was painted "in one sitting." This suggests how rapidly the other Shearman portraits may have been executed, and indicates the facility that Weaver brought to his career as a portraitist.

His likeness of Robert H. Shearman is one of his finest known paintings. When this portrait is compared with a similar work by a more renowned Federal-era artist such as John W. Jarvis (fig. 16), Weaver's skill at making fine Neoclassical-style portraits is apparent. For the background of the Shearman portrait Weaver used subtle shades of rose blended with gray.



Figure 11. John C. Bull, oil on wood, by William J. Weaver, Utica, New York, 1815. 17 3/8" X 13 1/8". Museum of Art, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York, gift of Mrs. Willson G. Todd.



Figure 12. Robert H. Shearman, oil on wood, attributed to William J. Weaver, Utica, New York, c. 1815. 16 3/8" X 13 3/16". Museum of Art, Minson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York, gift of Mr. and Mrs. G. Leiter Doolittle.



Figure 13. Willette H. Shearman, oil on wood, attributed to William J. Weaver, Utica, New York, c. 1815. 1" 9/16" X 13 3/16". Private collection, photograph by the author.



Figure 14. Stukely B. Shearman, oil on wood, by William J. Weaver, Utica, New York, c. 1815. 17 11/16" X 13 3/16". Private collection, photograph by the author.



Figure 15. Ebenezer B. Shearman, attributed to William J. Weaver, Utica, New York, c. 1815. Medium and dimensions not recorded; whereabouts unknown. Photographed by Carl K. Frey, Utica, New York, c. 1878. The photograph of this work is in a private collection; modern reproduction by Gale Farley.



Figure 16. Jacob Houseman, oil on wood, by John W. Jarvis, New York, 1809, 34" X 26 1/2". Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Dexter M. Ferry, Jr.

Two shades of black describe the cut and shape of Shearman's fashionable coat and the stylishly exaggerated slope of his shoulders. Impasto paint strokes were used to depict the fussy knot and pleats of Shearman's neck piece. The cool blacks and whites are a foil for the warmer pink and yellow tones Weaver used on the larger planes of Shearman's



Figure 17. Matthew Vassar as a Young Man, oil on wood, attributed to William J. Weaver, Utica, New York, 1815. 13 7/8" X 10 3/8". Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, New York, gift of Mrs. Henry Noble MacCracken, 72.41.

forehead and cheek. His skill at drawing is evident in the delicately-rendered lines that outline Shearman's lips, nose, and eyes. The locks of hair that adorn Shearman's temples are a distinguishing feature of Weaver's portrait style. A more exaggerated example of his tendency to depict his sitters with a romantic hair style can be seen in another work Weaver probably painted around 1815 that reputedly depicts the young Matthew Vassar (fig. 17).

Weaver was dead less than three years after painting the likeness of Bull. Records indicate that the fifty-seven year old artist died of "fever" at the poor house in Savannah, Georgia, on 5 August 1817.⁴⁷ At that time Weaver must have had some fame in the South, for more than five years after his death his name was mentioned in a Charleston newspaper in a manner which suggests that he enjoyed some notoriety.⁴⁸ If Weaver made any portraits in Savannah, these have not been identified.

What generalizations can be made about Weaver's art that might help in the identification of other works? One of the most characteristic physical features of his portraits is that they are all relatively small. None is larger than twenty-five by seventeen inches, and most are considerably smaller. Even though Dunlap claimed that Weaver generally painted on the relatively uncommon support of tinplate, the majority of portraits that so far have been identified were executed on wood panels. Of course, Dunlap could have been mistaken about Weaver's fondness for tinplate, or the works he painted on this support have not yet been identified as being by him. It is also possible that they simply have not survived.

Weaver generally preferred earth tones for the costumes of his sitters and for the plain backgrounds of his compositions. He liked to set off these colors with the warmer yellow and pink tones of his sitters' faces. He appears to have favored a particular set of yellow and pink tints. These appear to some degree in virtually all the portraits that can be attributed to him.

The brushwork that is visible in Weaver's portraits on wood suggests that they were rapidly executed and that the paint was sometimes applied wet on wet. Graphite lines outlining facial details occasionally can be seen beneath thin layers of paint. None of his portraits appear to have been built up with layers of glazed pigments, a more time consuming procedure unsuited to an artist who could paint a likeness "in one sitting."

Weaver was sensitive to the decorative potential of linear design and its capacity to create interesting positive and negative shapes. The neckpieces and shawls of his sitters were sometimes embellished with decorative flourishes of paint. As was noted, he also took delight in portraying male sitters with elaborately styled hair. On the other hand, it would seem that Weaver did not have any interest in, or talent for painting hands. Few of his portraits include them, and the ones that do are not well painted. He also appears to have had no interest in depicting his sitters with any of the conventional studio props, such as a Bible, book, ledger, newspaper, letter, fancy chair, watch, gold chain, and the like often used in nineteenth century portraits to provide insight into the sitter's personality, social class, profession, or gender role.

Because only three of Weaver's miniatures have been identified, generalizations about his work in this medium are more difficult. Were it not for the survival of Weaver's printed labels, his work on ivory would be unknown. In any event, the Huger and Stanyarne miniatures show that Weaver was a competent technician capable of painting a pleasing likeness. Because it is unlikely that many other miniatures will be found with Weaver's label attached, the Huger pair will probably play a key role in the identification of Weaver's other miniatures. The wispy, linear strands of hair visible in these two works and in the Stanyarne miniature may prove to be an important identifying characteristic.

Weaver's portraits have a requisite measure of Neoclassical stylelessness, but are nevertheless distinctive.⁴⁹ He willingly sacrificed psychological complexity to create a flattering likeness. His best works have a chaste elegance that is impressive. Even though Weaver appears to have enjoyed only limited acclaim during his lifetime and sank into obscurity soon thereafter, his portraits merit more consideration in the story of American Neoclassical portraiture than the five sentences Dunlap accorded him in 1834.

Paul Schweizer is the Director of the Museum of Art at the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute in Utica, New York.

Appendix

This chronologically arranged checklist includes thirty-seven works I believe William J. Weaver painted. Unsigned or lost paintings for which there is compelling visual or documentary evidence to indicate that they probably were executed by Weaver are designated as *attributions*. Four problematic portraits are assigned to Weaver with a *question mark*.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Samuel L. Mitchell*, c. 1795, "pencil miniature," dimensions and whereabouts unknown. Engraved by John Scoles, c. 1795, 9 1/8" X 7 7/16", The New-York Historical Society.

William J. Weaver, *Lieutenant General Prince Edward Augustus*, 1798, oil on wood, 24 15/16" X 16 5/8", Nova Scotia Legislative Library, Halifax.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Adam de Cbezeau, Sr.*, c. 1798, oil on tinplate, 12 1/4" X 11 15/16", private collection.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Mrs. Wyndham Madden* (nee Ann "Nancy" Nethercote), c. 1798, oil on tinplate, 13 1/4" X 11 1/4", Prescott House, The Nova Scotia Museum, Starr's Point, N. S.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Charles Morris III (?)*, c. 1798, oil on tinplate, 11 15/16" X 10", Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Lieutenant General Prince Edward Augustus (?)* (unfinished), c. 1798, oil on tinplate, 11 15/16" X 10"; on verso of *Charles Morris III (?)*, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Mrs. Christian W. Schmidt* (nee Elizabeth Pedley), c. 1798, oil on tinplate, 12 1/8" X 9 3/16" in. (irregular), Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

William J. Weaver (?), *A Seated Gentleman*, c. 1800, oil on wood, 23 1/2" X 17 3/4", whereabouts unknown. See *The Magazine Antiques* 110 (Dec. 1976): 1196 prior to its acquisition by Steven Straw, Newburyport, Mass.

William J. Weaver (?), *A Seated Young Gentleman*, c. 1800, oil on wood, 25 7/8" X 19 15/16", private collection. Attributed to William J. Weaver, "*Doctor [John R. B.?] Rodgers*," c. 1805, dimensions (probably smaller than life size) and whereabouts unknown.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Alexander Hamilton*, c. 1805, oil on wood, 9 1/8" X 7-1/8", Mead Art Museum, Amherst College.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Alexander Hamilton*, c. 1805, oil on wood, 9 1/2" X 7 3/4", New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, N. Y.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Alexander Hamilton*, c. 1805, oil on wood, 9 1/2" X 7 1/4", Indianapolis Museum of Art.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Alexander Hamilton*, c. 1805, oil on wood, 9 1/4" X 7 3/8", Morristown National Historic Park, Morristown, N. J.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Alexander Hamilton*, c. 1805, oil on wood, 9 1/4" X 7 3/8", Museum of the City of New York.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Alexander Hamilton*, c. 1805, oil on wood, 10 1/2" X 8 1/16", The New-York Historical Society.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Alexander Hamilton*, c. 1805, oil on wood, 9 1/4" X 7 1/2", whereabouts unknown. See *The Old Print Shop Portfolio*, 19 (Jan. 1960): 120.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Alexander Hamilton*, c. 1805, oil on wood, 9 1/4" X 7 3/8", United States Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Allegorical Portrait of George Washington*, c. 1805, whereabouts unknown.

William J. Weaver (?) *George Washington* (after Gilbert Stuart), c. 1805, oil on wood, 6 3/4" x 5", whereabouts unknown. See *The Old Print Shop Portfolio*, 25 (Aug-Sept. 1965): 23.

William J. Weaver (?) *Martba Washington* (after Gilbert Stuart?), c. 1805, oil on wood, 6 3/4" X 5", whereabouts unknown. See, *The Old Print Shop Portfolio*, 25 (Aug.-Sept. 1965): 23.

William J. Weaver, *Daniel Huger*, 1806, watercolor on ivory (?), 2 7/8" x 2 3/8" (sight), private collection.

William J. Weaver, *Mrs. Daniel Huger*, (n e Sarah Louise Lance), 1806, watercolor on ivory (?) 2-7/8 X 2-3/8 in., private collection.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *James Stanyarne* (after Pierre Henri), c. 1806, watercolor on ivory, 2 3/4" x 2 3/16" (sight), private collection.

William J. Weaver, *George T. Baker*, 1808, oil on tinplate, 1-4" X 9 3/4", The Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Mass.

William J. Weaver, *Mrs. George T. Baker* (née Priscilla Pinkham), 1808, oil on tinplate, 1-4" X 10", The Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Mass.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *George Buist*, 1808, "painting," dimensions and whereabouts unknown. Engraving by David Edwin, 1810, 12 11/16" X 10 7/16" (trimmed), private collection.

William J. Weaver, *John C. Bull*, 1815, oil on wood, 17 3/8" X 13 1/8", Museum of Art, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, N. Y.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Talcott Camp*, c. 1815, medium, dimensions and whereabouts unknown. Photographed by L. Charles Mundy (Utica, N. Y.), 1880 (?), 4 1/16" X 5 7/8", Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, N. Y.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Ebenezer B. Shearman*, c. 1815, medium, dimensions and whereabouts unknown. Published in Samuel W. Durant, *History of Oneida County, N. Y.* (Phila.: Everts & Fariss, 1878), 318 ff. Photographed by Carl K. Frey (Utica, N. Y.), c. 1878, 4" X 5 7/8", private collection.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Honor B. Shearman*, c. 1815, oil on wood, 16 1/2" X 13 1/8", Richard M. Worth, Jr., Chadds Ford, Pa.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Robert H. Shearman*, c. 1815, oil on wood, 16 3/8" X 13-3/16", Museum of Art, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, N. Y.

William J. Weaver, *Stukely B. Shearman*, c. 1815, oil on wood, 17 11/16" X 13 3/16", private collection.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Willett H. Shearman*, c. 1815, oil on wood, 17 9/16" X 13 3/16", private collection.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Seth Dwight*, c. 1815, oil on canvas, 17" X 12 1/2", James A. LeFurgy, Hallowell, Maine.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Matthew Vassar as a Young Man*, c. 1815, oil on wood, 13 7/8" X 10 3/8", Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Unidentified Young Man*, c. 1815 (9), oil on tinplate, 12" X 10" (oval), private collection, ex. coll. George L. Considine, North Dartmouth, Mass.

FOOTNOTES

1. I am grateful to Marianne Corrou and Ricky Doolittle for their help during the research and writing of this article, and to the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute for defraying the cost of the photographs. I was also assisted by Mary E. Murray, Jane K. Schweizer and Martha R. Severens, who read drafts of this article and made editorial suggestions that improved the text.
2. Dunlap may have been in Utica, N. Y., in the spring of 1815, around the same time that Weaver was there. See, William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* I (New York: George P. Scott & Co., 1834; repr., New York: Dover, 1969), 276.
3. No less a painter than Gilbert Stuart was sometimes indifferent to the matter of first names. In 1807 his name was listed in the Boston city directory as "George G. Stuart, Portrait Painter," and he was called "George C. Stuart" in an article that appeared in *The Emerald*. See, William T. Whitley, *Gilbert Stuart* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932), 137.
4. "WEAVER—1797 / Probably an Englishman. He painted portraits in oil, small size. He generally painted on tin, 'inveterate' likenesses, hard as the tin and as cutting in the outline. He was one of those, who, by intemperance disgrace, as far as they can, a liberal and honourable profession. His portrait of Alexander Hamilton attracted attention from the strong likeness, and was the property of Dr. David Hosack, but he gave it in exchange to Mr. Trumbull, and, as I am informed, Mr. Trumbull destroyed it." Dunlap, *History*, 2: 64.
5. Weaver died on 5 August 1817, according to the *Register of Deaths* (Savannah, Ga.), 3 (August 1811—August 1812). I am grateful to Brad Rauschenberg, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, for bringing this information to my attention.
6. William Duncan, *City Directory*, 1794, s. v. "Weaver." His address was 2 Robinson Street: west of Broadway near the original site of Columbia College.
7. For a discussion of the economic conditions under which portrait painters worked in London in the years immediately prior to Weaver's arrival in the United States see, Marcia Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business Enterprise in London in the 1780s," *Art History*, 7 (June 1984): 187-205.
8. A description of the clock's decorations, originally published in the *Columbian Gazetteer*, 16 October 1794 was reprinted in Rita S. Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1954), 400-401. The idea that the artist who decorated this clock was William J. Weaver was first suggested by George C. Groce and David H. Wallace in *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860* (New Haven & London: Yale Univ. Press, 1957), 667. For Gardiner Baker's museum see, Robert M. & Gale S. McClung, "Tammamy's Remarkable Gardiner Baker," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, 42 (April 1958): 143-69, especially page 154.

9. William Duncan, *City Directory*, 1795, s. v. "Weaver." His address was 185 Broadway.
10. David Longworth, *City Directory*, 1796, s. v. "Weaver." John Low, *The New-York Directory, and Register, For The Year 1796* (New York: John Bull, 1796), 192. Weaver's residence was west of Broadway, several blocks north of Trinity Church.
11. For the "pencil miniature," see "Mitchelliana," *Courier* (Charleston), 29 Apr. 1823. For Scoles's print see, David McN. Stauffer, *American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel* (New York: Grolier Club; repr., New York: Burt Franklin, n. d.), pt. 2, 463, no. 2796. Stauffer noted that this print has an inscription: "J. C. Weaver del.—J. Scoles fc. / Mitchell." Impressions (of a different state?) that I have examined at both The New-York Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society have only "Scoles fc." in the lower right corner. Scoles's print is not dated; however, it must have been made sometime between 1793, when the engraver first began working in New York City and 1805, when a reversed impression appeared in James Hardie's *New Universal Biographical Dictionary, and American Remembrancer of Departed Merit. . . . Embellished With a Number of Portraits of the Most Distinguished Characters Engraved from Original Drawings 2* (New York: Thomas Kirk, 1805), 369 ff. Mitchell's collar is similar in style to the ones in Gilbert Stuart's 1794 portrait of John Jacob Astor, and in James Peale's 1797 miniature of Thomas Cumpton. See Lawrence Park, *Gilbert Stuart. An Illustrated Descriptive List of His Works 1* (New York: William E. Rudge, 1926), 118; 3: 24; and, Susan E. Strickler, *American Portrait Miniatures, The Worcester Art Museum Collection* (Worcester, Mass.: Worcester Art Museum, 1989), 25, 98-99.
12. Stephen W. Williams, *American Medical Biography: or, Memoirs of Eminent Physicians* (Greenfield, Mass.: L. Merriam & Co., 1845; repr., New York: Milford House, 1967), 410. 13. This interpretation was suggested by a handwritten inscription, probably written in the early nineteenth century, on the impression of Mitchell's print at The New-York Historical Society. It notes that an explanation of the wrestling match between Eros and Pan is contained in the writings of the English philosopher Francis Bacon. In his 1609 treatise, *De Sapientia Veterum*, Bacon noted: "With regard to the audacity of Pan in challenging Cupid to fight, it refers to this,—that matter is not without a certain inclination and appetite to dissolve the world and fall back into the ancient chaos; but that the overswaying concord of things (which is represented by Cupid or Love) restrains its will and effort in that direction and reduces it to order. And therefore it is well for man and for the world that in that contest Pan was foiled." See, James Spedding, ed., *The Works of Francis Bacon 13* (Boston: Brown & Taggard, 1860), 99.
14. By 1797, neither J. (nor I.) Weaver, Joseph Weaver, nor William J. Weaver, nor any reasonable variation of these names appeared in any New York City directory through 1817.
15. Paul D. Schweizer, "William J. Weaver (1759/60-1817): Halifax Portraitist," forthcoming in the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N. S.).

16. There was a J. Weaver who lived in London in the first decade of the nineteenth century but, because the four animal and landscape paintings this artist exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1801 and 1809 are unlike anything William J. Weaver is known to have painted in America, it seems unlikely that this artist is the portraitist. See Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work From its Foundation in 1769 to 1904* (London: H. Graves & Co., 1905-1906), 181.
17. "Polygraphic Art," *New-York Evening Post*, 26 Jan. 1805; and reprinted (with deletions) in the *Baltimore American, and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 7 May 1805.
18. This may be John R. B. Rodgers (1759-1833), a member of the faculty of the Columbia Medical College, who moved in the same intellectual circle as Mitchill and was a trustee of Gardiner Baker's museum where the clock that Weaver decorated was displayed in 1794. For Rodgers see, *Catalogue of American Portraits in The New-York Historical Society* 2 (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 673.
19. See, for example, Eric Robinson & Keith R. Thompson, "Matthew Boulton's Mechanical Paintings," *Burlington Magazine*, 112 (Aug. 1970): 497-507; Ralph Edwards, "Polygraphic Reproductions," *Burlington Magazine*, 113 (Mar. 1971): 158.
20. I will discuss Weaver's involvement with polygraphy in a forthcoming article.
21. "Polygraphic Painting," as published with variations in Philadelphia (4 June 1805); *Norfolk Gazette and Public Ledger*, 25 June 1805; *Alexandria Advertiser and Commercial Intelligencer*, 3 July 1805; *Charleston Courier*, 8 July 1805; *Boston Columbian Centinel*, 10 Aug. 1805. This advertisement probably was published in other cities as well. References for all but the Boston newspaper are from transcriptions at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts. The polygrams of George and Martha Washington were to be fifteen by twelve inches in size. The portraits of this couple listed in the Appendix are less than half this size.
22. There is no information regarding the nature of Weaver's business relationship with J. Conrad. A review of the Philadelphia city directory for the years 1797 through 1817 indicated that Weaver never lived there.
23. *Charleston Times*, 22 Jan. 1806. I am grateful to Martha R. Severens who, as curator at the Gibbes Art Gallery, provided me with photocopies of Anna Wells Rutledge's research notes on Weaver, which included a transcription of this notice. An abbreviated version was published by Rutledge in *Artists in the Life of Charleston* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949), 224. Weaver's notice also appeared in the *Charleston Courier* 28 Jan. 1806, 31 Jan. 1806. The two *Courier* references and all subsequent references from Charleston newspapers and from J. J. Negrin's Charleston city directory are from transcriptions at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.
24. On 13 December 1806 Weaver announced in the *Courier* (Charleston), p. 3, that he was living at 105 Church Street; J. J. Negrin's city directory of Charleston (1807), 97, listed him at this address as well. He was not

- listed in the 1809 directory. 25. Both are cited in the Carolina Art Association, *Exhibition of Miniatures from Charleston and Its Vicinity, Painted Before the Year 1860* (Charleston, S. C.: Gibbes Memorial Art Gallery, 1935), cat. nos. 232 and 233.
26. For Smith and Vallee see Martha R. Severens, *The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association* (Charleston, S. C.: Carolina Art Association, Gibbes Art Gallery, 1984), 88-94, 107, 120-25. For Dewey see Rutledge, *Artists in the Life of Charleston*, 128. For a recent survey of miniature painting in Charleston see William H. Gertds, *Art Across America: Two Centuries of Regional Painting, 1710-1920* 2 (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990), 44-47.
27. Weaver's trade card, which could possibly have provided a clue to when this work was painted, was originally affixed to the back of this miniature until sometime after 1935, when it was lost. Its existence was noted in *Exhibition of Miniatures*, cat. no. 234.
28. The connection between the Henri and Weaver miniatures was first noted in 1935 in *Exhibition of Miniatures from Charleston and Its Vicinity, Painted Before the Year 1860*, cat. no. 234. For the Henri miniature of Stanyarne see Severens, *Miniature Portrait Collection*, 81-82. I am grateful to Ms. Severens for her insights about the miniatures illustrated as figs. 2, 3, 5 and 6; and for her cautionary suggestion that Weaver's miniature of Stanyarne may have been copied from the same portrait that Henri copied, now lost.
29. *Charleston Times*, 12 Sept. 1808.
30. *Charleston Courier*, 18 Jan. 1809; *Charleston Times* 22 Sept. 1810, as transcribed by Anna Wells Rutledge, courtesy of Martha R. Severens.
31. *Charleston Times*, 22 Sept. 1810, as transcribed by Anna Wells Rutledge, courtesy of Martha R. Severens.
32. It is not listed in Stauffer, *American Engravers*; or in Mantle Fielding, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel . . . A Supplement to . . . Stauffer's American Engravers* (Philadelphia, n. p., 1917; repr., New York: Burt Franklin, n. d.).
33. *Charleston Courier*, 13 Dec. 1806.
34. Harry M. Bland and Virginia W. Northcott, "The Life Portraits of Alexander Hamilton," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 12 (Apr. 1955): 187-98, especially 194-95. I will discuss these paintings in a forthcoming article tentatively titled, "William J. Weaver's Portraits of Alexander Hamilton." In a 5 March 1992 letter to the author, Forsyth M. Alexander, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, suggested that the Hamilton profiles may have been painted by Francis (?) Cezeron. For Cezeron see John Bivins and Forsyth Alexander, *The Regional Arts of the Early South* (Winston-Salem, N. C.: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1991), 156.
35. "Weaver, P. T. Dunlap notes his painting of small portraits in oil, in a hard manner. He was an intemperate Irishman: his portrait of Alexander Hamilton attracted attention by its strong likeness. He often painted portraits in profile on wood panels, and signed several 'P. T. Weaver.'" Mantle Fielding, *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* (Philadelphia: n. p., 1926), 395.

36. I was not able to locate Fielding's research notes, which might have shed some light on this question. In my search for this material I was graciously assisted by Mrs. Richard M. Fielding, daughter-in-law of the author, who contacted Fielding's other descendants.
37. John H. Morgan, *Gilbert Stuart and His Pupils* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1939), 34.
38. As suggested by Mary Jean Blasdale, The Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Mass., letter to the author, 12 Dec. 1991.
39. Mary Jean Blasdale, *Artists of New Bedford, A Biographical Dictionary* (New Bedford, Mass.: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1990), 203-204.
40. See n. 4.
41. *Salem Gazette*, 24 Jan. 1809, 3. This advertisement was originally cited by Henry W. Belknap, *Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem, Mass., 1927), 14. A "William Weaver" was listed living at 32 Cornhill in the 1809 Boston city directory but, because there is no record of this person's occupation, it is not certain this is the artist. See *The Boston Directory: Containing the Names of the Inhabitants, Their Occupations, Places of Business, and Dwelling-Houses*. . . . (Printed by Munroe, Francis, & Parker, June 1809), 143.
42. For Malbone's fees see Rita S. Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1800-1804* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1965), 8; for Field see Harry Piers, *Robert Field, Portrait Painter in Oils, Miniature and Water-Colours and Engraver* (New York: Frederic Fairchild Sherman, 1927), p. 109; for Peale see, Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., *Rapballe Peale Still Lifes* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988), 65; for Sharples see, Katharine McC. Knox, *The Sharples* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1930), 9; for Morse see, Dunlap, *History*, 2: 314; for Doyle see, Ethel S. Bolton, *Wax Portraits and Silhouettes* (Boston: Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1914), 14.
43. Moses M. Bagg, *The Pioneers of Utica* (Utica, N. Y.: Curtiss & Childs, 1877), 290.
44. Another inscription on the back of the painting reads: "J. C. Bull / aged— 39 years / Susan Bull aged 29 years." I am grateful to Michael Heslip, Conservator, Williamstown Regional Art Conservation Laboratory, Williamstown, Mass., for helping me to read these nearly illegible inscriptions.
45. For the use of this pictorial convention by the seventeenth century Dutch portraitist Frans Hals and its relationship to heraldry see Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1989), 133. For the origins of this tradition in classical and Biblical literature and its appearance in Neoclassical art see Garry Wills, *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1984), 55-67, 251-53. I am grateful to Arthur H. Hopkins for bringing Wills's book to my attention.
46. The Shearman family is discussed in Bagg, *Pioneers of Utica*, 251 and Samuel W. Durant, *History of Oneida County, N. Y.* (Philadelphia: Everts & Fariss, 1878), 318 ff. I am grateful to Ricky Doolittle, Holland Patent, N. Y., for the information she assembled about the Shearman family.

47. See n. 5.
48. Charleston *Courier*, 29 Apr. 1823.
49. Brandon B. Fortune, "Portraits of Virtue and Genius: Pantheons of Worthies and Public Portraiture in the Early American Republic, 1780-1820" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1987), 169.

*Reconsidering Charleston Brass Andirons,
Types II and III:
An Essay on the Use of Theory Replacement
in Material Culture*
Bradford L. Rauschenberg

"The Ship Castle-Douglas, Capt. Garrett, in eight weeks from London, came last evening over the Bar. She Lost her Fore-Mast and Fore-Top-Mast, Main-Top-Mast, and sprung her Main Mast, and is now under jury-Masts."¹

Notice of the arrival of the *Castle Douglas*, buried among the long listings of similar notices in many Charleston, South Carolina, newspapers, would not have attracted much attention had not the ship apparently run into a storm and suffered considerable damage. This announcement may not be of any great consequence to most present-day researchers; however, the *Castle Douglas*'s arrival after two months' sale from London was of great relief to Cochrea and William McClure, a Charleston mercantile firm. The ship docked at "Mr. Eveleigh's Wharf and was advertised the day after as "a remarkable fine ship, and every way completely fitted, burthen about 300 tons," and that in about ten days cargo could be accepted. Those interested were told to apply to Cochrea and William McClure at "No. 41 Bay, or James Gregorie, the east corner of Bedon's Alley and Tradd-street." Gregorie was another merchant; the advertisement also noted that John Garrett was the master of the vessel. Apparently, ten days allowed for the unloading of cargo as well as replacing several of the masts, and it is what was unloaded that is of interest to today's students of material culture.²

In 1979, I published an article in the *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* entitled "A School of Charleston, South Carolina, Andirons."³ In it I theorized that specific types and groups of brass andirons were made in Charleston. Lack of space prohibits a recounting of the evidence that led to these attributions; however, since May 1979, several brass objects— andirons, a fender, and a candlestick— have surfaced that can be associated with the group illustrated in that article. It is important to mention these examples, for they can be tied into new documentary findings that will be discussed later in this essay.

Descending in the Mitchell family of Charleston is a pair of andirons (fig. 1) that can be identified as part of the group identified as type II in the 1979 article, although these examples have an acorn as a center drop (fig. 1a), a feature not seen previously.⁴ These andirons also exhibit outside spurs,



Figure 1. Brass andirons, group II, c. 1785. HOA 28 3/4", WOA 13 1/2", DOA 22 1/2". Private collection, MESDA Research File (MRF) S-15,259. These andirons descended in the Mitchell family and have a Charleston history.



Figure 1a. Detail of andirons in figure 1, showing the base.



Figure 2. Billet bar with impressed crown over the uppercase letters S and C (partial only). Dimensions not recorded but estimated to be HOA 1/2", WOA 3/8". Private collection, MRF S-16,994. The mark appears on the side of the bar past the vertical log stop.

engraved paterae, vines, and linearly arranged side husks. Although the shaft front is quite worn, what appears to be a vine and leafage pattern is found near the shaft's top, and the same design is barely evident at the base with open volutes. Such a pattern has not been found on any other andirons in groups I, II, or III. On the shaft sides are engraved husks that begin with a patera and descend in close alignment; these husks have three petals of equal length. Their closeness has also not been seen on other types, and the urn has engraved design that differs from that of other types. Despite these variances, the Mitchell andirons can be classified as part of the type II group.

In 1988 a pair of incomplete type II andirons was auctioned.⁵ The urn finial and the shaft base were engraved with patera vining, and the upper shaft was fluted; all were supported by ball and claw feet with an outside spur. Impressed on the outside of one billet bar just behind the log stop is the impression of a crown over a bar above an upper case S and what appears to be the letter C (fig. 2). This impression has not been found on other andirons, but it is possible that they indicated South Carolina.



Figure 3. Brass andirons, group II, c. 1785. HOA 27 1/4", WOA 1/2", DOA 18 1/2". Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA), acc. 3799. MRF S-13,847.

Six new type II andirons have been brought to my attention, but none are marked by any maker. One (fig. 3) of these pairs is of particular note because it was never engraved and is very similar to another engraved pair mentioned in 1979.⁶ The former was acquired by the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts and has no history. The other five type III andirons are incomplete and offer no new features; rather, they repeat those discussed and illustrated in 1979.



Figure 4. Brass candlestick, c. 1785. HOA 10 3/4", square 4 1/4". Private collection, MRF S-15,082.

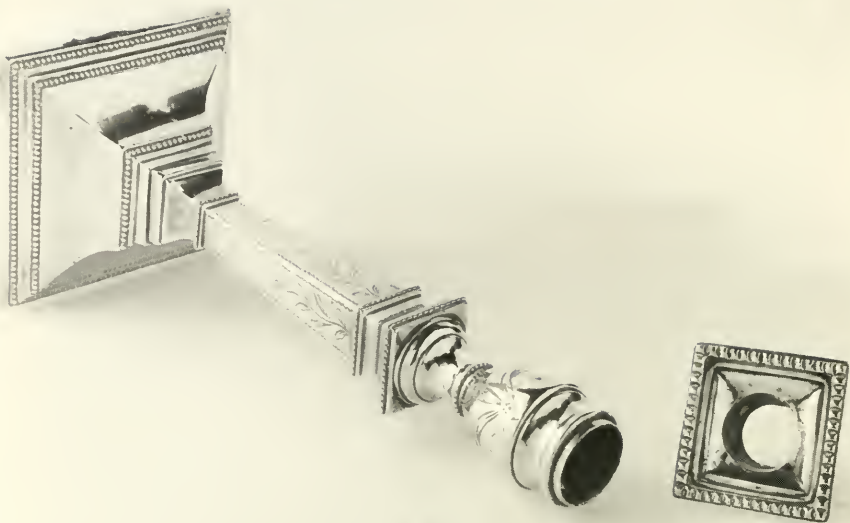


Figure 4a. Candlestick in figure 4 with bobèche removed.

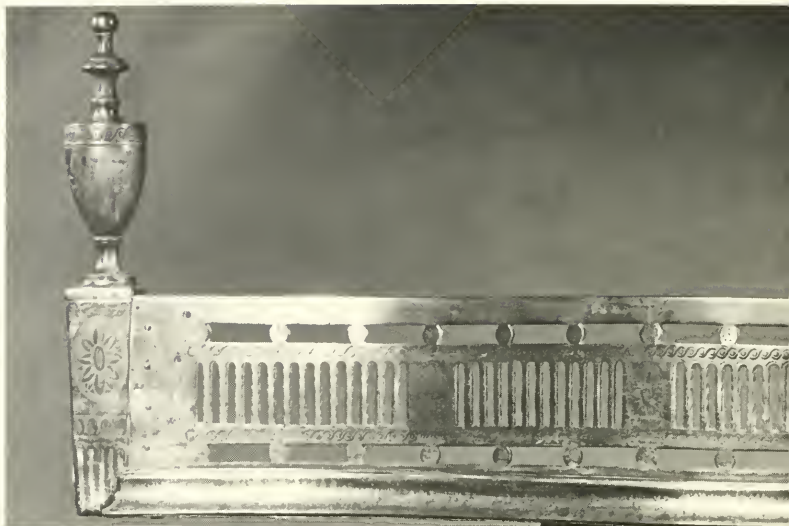
A remarkable candlestick (fig. 4) expands the repertoire of this entire type III group. The swag and punch engraving found on the candlestick's nozzle match that on the head of a pair of andirons (fig. 5) at Middleton Place in South Carolina. Another pair (fig. 6), also at Middleton Place, have a "running vine" design engraved on the shaft that is like that on the shaft of the candlestick. The latter also has a bobèche (fig. 4a). Also part of the extended type III repertoire is a brass serpentine fender (figs. 7 and 7b) with two finials (fig. 7a) that are engraved with swags and guilloché and a profile that is found on many type II and III andirons. Patera, vines, and ovals adorn the corner finial supports, and the body bears a polished patera and guilloché. The fender also has a front molding and bottom plate. This fender does not have a Charleston history; however, it is from an early piedmont North Carolina collection, and its unusual quality and design and its relation to the andiron groups warranted its inclusion. I hope that it will stimulate further examination of American brass fenders.



Figure 5. Detail of brass andiron finial, group III, c. 1785. Collection of Middleton Place, Charleston, South Carolina, MRF S-9063.



Figure 6. Detail of brass andiron base, group III, c. 1785. Collection of Middleton Place, Charleston, South Carolina, MRF S- 8198.



*Figure 7. Brass fender, c. 1785. HOA 14", WOA 47 3/4", 12 7/8" and 7 3/4".
Property of Estate Antiques, Charleston, South Carolina, MRF S-17,000.*



Figure 7a. Detail of fender in figure 7.

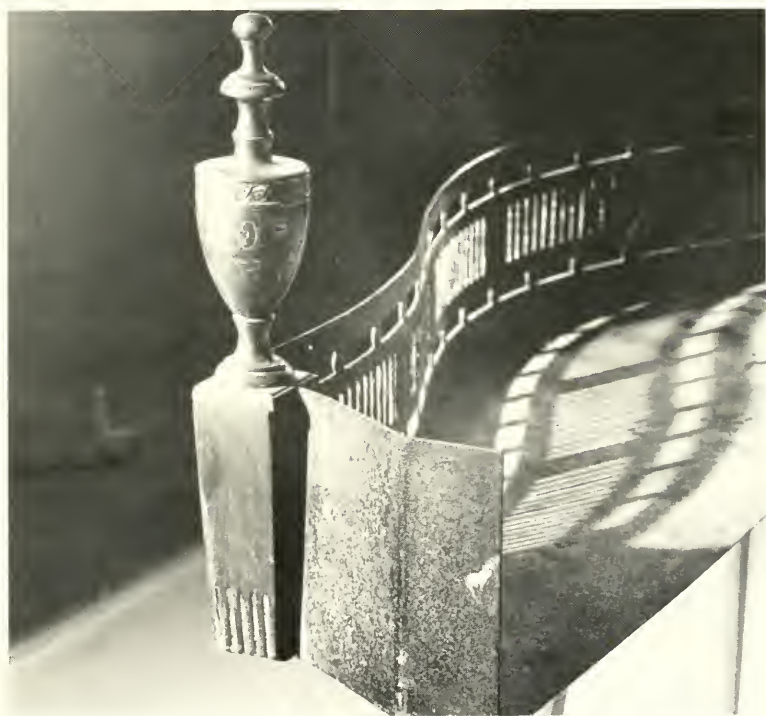
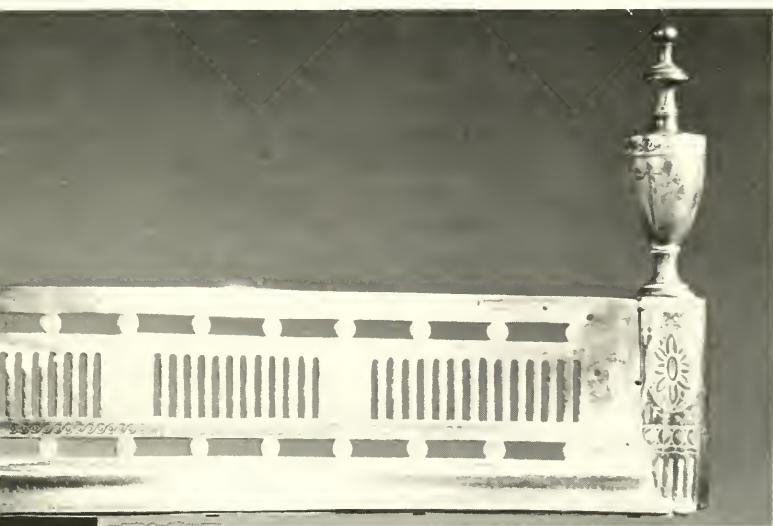


Figure 7b. Detail of fender in figure 7, showing base and serpentine shape.

In the 1979 article I attributed these groups of brass objects to Charleston, for it has long been thought that after 1783, England, which had become a coal-burning country, halted its brass and irons exportation to American, and regional American styles began to develop in centers like Charleston, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The arrival of the *Castle Douglas* and part of the cargo it bore have resulted in my reattribution of these objects. Its ramifications may even lead to a reinterpretation of British brass exports after the American Revolution.

A remarkable 329-page document, the James Douglas Account Book, in the William L. Clements Library, at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, is at the heart of my reattribution.⁷ This account book lists accounts of ships and shipments mostly from Liverpool, Bristol, London, Clyde, and Glasgow to New York, Cape Breton, Halifax, and Louisburg (Nova Scotia), and Charleston. In the midst of these records is a 53-page "Invoice of Goods Shipped, Mess. C. & Wm McClure on Board the Castle Douglas, John Garrett per Charleston by their order on their Acct. & Risque & Consigned to M.J. Gregorie Merchant there on their Acct. Marks & Numbers Per Margin london 10th July 1785." The cargo for Charleston included the goods of 76 firms packaged in cases, casks, boxes, or trunks numbered 10 through 153. Among the items, all described in detail were textiles, jewelry, books, furniture, hoes, ceramics, tack, clothing, ironmongery, pharmacea, glassware, sugar, spices, and metalware. Among the latter was the shipment of Taylor and Bailey (numbers 144-49) which listed copper and iron tea kettles, stewpans, saws, hoes, axes, shovel and tongs with brass heads, "fire dogs with brass heads." Most vital and incredible was the mention of

"2 [pair] of neat Square Eng[rave]d brass pillar Do[Fire dogs], with arch'd feet & brass vase h[ea]ds @18/ [] 1:16 [.] 2 pr of Do Do [@]25/ [] 2:10 [.] 1 pr of large Strong Do [] 1:11 [.] 2 pr of Do wth. very very neat Claw feet [@] 35/ [£]3:10 . . . 1 pair of very neat large new make d[ou]ble Fire dogs with neat Engd. Princes metal obliisk pillars Claw feet vase heads wth. a very neat openwork Elliptic & Scroul[sic] border Engd. [£]3:13:6 [.] 1 Pair of very Strong Single Do fluted pillars & Strong Claw feet with bright horses [£]2:8 [.] 2 pair of Single brass Mounted fire dogs, with Square obliisk Pillars Engd. arch feet & vase heads [£0]:17 . . . 1 Neat New Pattern

openwork brass Serpentine fender with a Moulding & bottom plate 4 ft. 3 in. 4/[charging per foot] [£0]-17-[0] [.]2 Do Do 4ft.9 in is [a total of] 9ft 6 [in] 4/ [charging per foot] [L] 1-18-[0] [.] 2 Do Do 5 [ft] 3 in is 10 ft 6 [in] 4/ [charging per foot] [£] 2-2-0 [.] 1 Do Do 4 [ft] 1 [in] 3/4 [charging per foot] [£0]-14-3 1/2".⁸

My first reaction upon reading the above information was what psychologists term a Gestalt switch: I experienced a researcher's "high," followed by a scholar's "low," which, after some consideration, became a "rush" again.⁹ The account description completely negated a Charleston origin for groups II and III of the brass andirons. After recovering from the initial shock and talking myself out of destroying the reel of microfilm while securing the original document, I sought consolation from my colleagues, contacting in particular Donald Fenimore at the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. His excited response to the discovery brought me some calm, but I still struggled with the question of ethics. Should I present the new evidence even though it refuted my previous theory? Or should my findings be kept quiet? I pondered these questions for a few days before deciding to present the discovery for what it is: new documentation that allows the core of physical evidence to remain while its analysis undergoes what is termed theory replacement/building. I then chose to apply the new records to the pre-existing information and publish a new theory.¹⁰

Reviewing the account, I was struck by the rarity of its data: a specific time, firm, and destination as well as a fairly complete description of brass andirons with square, engraved brass pillars, engraved arched feet, brass vase heads, princess metal obelisk pillars, openwork ellipses, and scrolled borders as part of the cargo. These can all be connected to the type I, II, and III andirons illustrated in my earlier article as well as to the more recently discovered andirons and other brass objects. It is possible that the S and C on the andirons in figure 2 may have indicated their being made for the South Carolina market. Also, the fender in figure 7 has a front "moulding & bottom plate." While no candlesticks were described in the cargo, it may be that the example in figure 4 was part of another shipment.

Another brass andiron and tong shipment was also part of the lading of the *Castle Douglas* from "John Horsley & Son," described in various directories from 1783 to 1793 as "Brass Founders" of Haberdashers Walk, Hoxton, in northeast Lon-

don. Their consignment was valued at £40.15.0 and was not as detailed as Taylor and Bailey's. However, a few of the items listed among the pairs of "com[mon]" iron dogs with brass heads and matching shovel and tongs should be cited. These are: "4 [pair] Brass dogs eng[raved] pillar and Vase heads eng[raved] 21/[per pair] [] 4-4-[0]" with shovel and tongs, "4 [pair] Princes me[tal] dogs Eng[raved] Do[and vase heads engraved [?] 25/ [per pair] [] 15-0-0 . . . 2 [pair] Claw feet dogs eng[rave]d___ pillar."¹¹ Therefore, other brass andirons were entering Charleston from London. Unfortunately, the less specific description will probably preclude any discovery of these types of andirons.

Further research of the Taylor and Bailey cargo resulted in my finding the locations of the merchant and artisans involved with that shipment. In 1785 James Douglas was described as "Merchant, 1 Crescent, Minories" (fig. 8a).¹² Douglas was first mentioned in 1781 as "W. and J. Douglas, merchants, Glasgow" in Bailey's Northern Directory. They then appeared as "William and James Douglas, merchants, Argyle Street, Glasgow," in John Tait's Directory of the city of Glasgow from 15 May 1783 to 15 May 1784. However, the firm apparently moved to or opened a branch in London in 1783, for they were listed in Lowndes's London Directory and Bailey's Western and Midland Directory as "William and James Douglas, merchants, Argyle Street, Glasgow." By the time James Douglas was listed at 1 America Square in 1785, the firm had apparently dissolved. Douglas remained in the Crescent through 1793, although his address changed to number 4 in 1787.¹³ Within six blocks (fig. 8b) from James Douglas, beginning in 1785, was the partnership of Edward Farmer Taylor and Thomas Bailey—the "Taylor and Bailey" of the accounts. In 1785 the partners were described as "braziers, 2, Lower Tower-street" in Lowndes's directory and in Kent's as "Taylor and Bailey, Ironmongers, 2, Little Tower-street."¹⁴

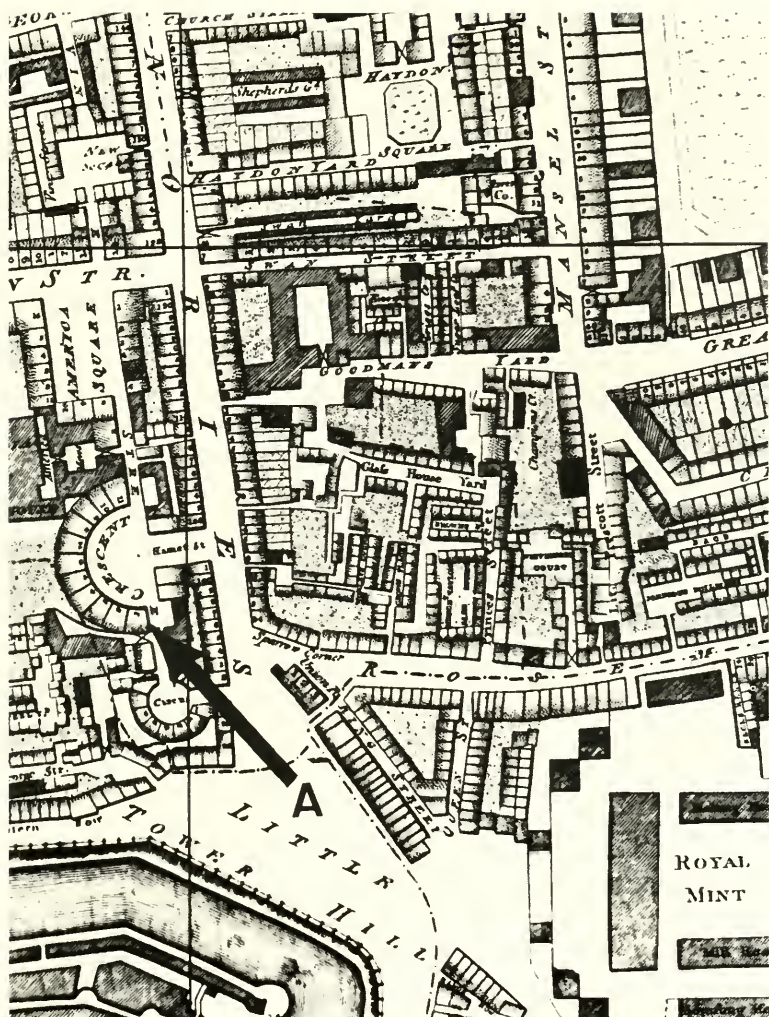


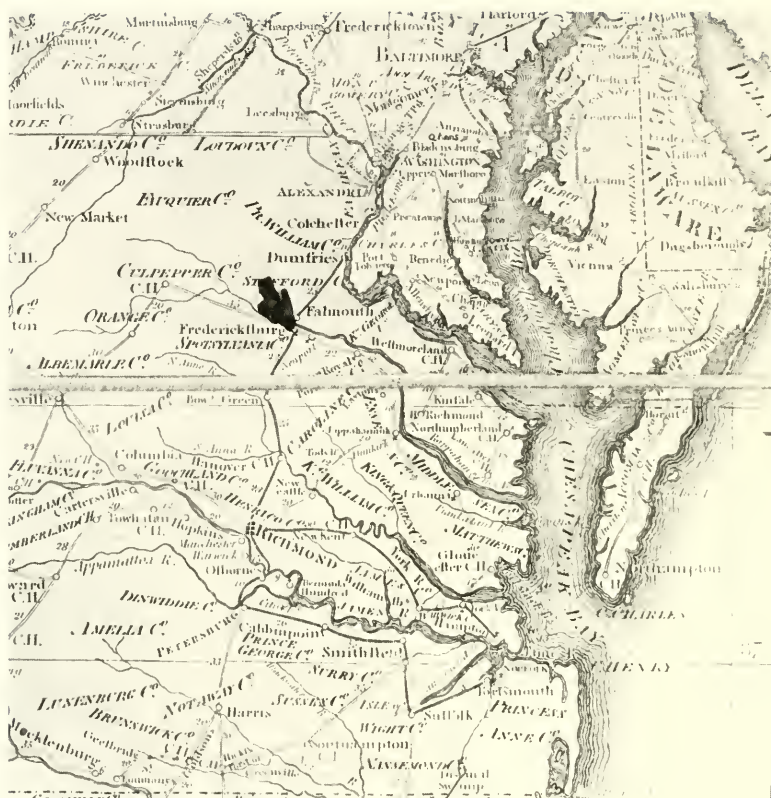
Figure 8. Detail of Richard Hornwood's *The A to Z of Regency London*, 1813 (Kent and London: Harry Margary with the Guildhall Library, 1985), sheet 16. MRF S-17,041. Arrow A indicates the location of James Douglas, merchant, at 1 Crescent, Minories.

The purpose of this essay has been to reattribute the andirons discussed in my 1979 article and to describe my application of theory replacement to the study of material culture. I feel it is very important to emphasize the rarity of the documents that caused a major new discovery: a specific date, 1785, for a ship, *Castle Douglas*, with cargo that contained brass andirons, fenders, and possibly candlesticks—these were not listed—unique to and probably produced for the Charleston market, although the latter is supposition. I also presented new additions to the group now known to be made in Britain and not Charleston. I hope that this essay has demonstrated the need for continuing research on topics already published even if it results in restructuring or discounting original theories and hypotheses; in other words, research should never stop.

The author especially wishes to thank Mr. Robert B. Barker of West Hampstead, London, for assisting in the directory and map research in London and Mr. Donald L. Fenimore of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum for his encouragement and for locating the directory listings for Taylor and Bailey.

FOOTNOTES

1. Charleston, S. C., *Columbian Herald*, 28 Sept. 1785.
2. Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 30 Sept., 3 Oct. 1785; Charleston *South Carolina Weekly Gazette*, 1, 6 Oct. 1785; Charleston *City Gazette or Daily Advertiser*, 25 Feb. 1789.
3. Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "A School of Charleston, South Carolina Brass Andirons," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* (JESDA), 5, no. 1 (May 1979): 28-49.
4. The collections of Greenfield Village and the Henry Ford Museum contain a type II pair of andirons exhibiting an inverted husk or bellflower also in the center drop position. Rauschenberg, "Andirons," figs. 5a-5b.
5. C. G. Sloan & Company, Inc., Auction Catalogue, 23-25 Sept. 1988, Lot 2375.
6. C. W. Lyon, Inc., advertisement, *Antiques*, 1951, 73; Rauschenberg, "Andirons," fig. 8b.
7. The account book, microfilmed at the author's request, was graciously loaned to the Research Center of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts by the Clements Library for a period of investigation.
8. James Douglas Account Book, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 186, 281-83.
9. A Gestalt switch is the alternate viewing of an image: it appears one way then reverses before reverting to its original. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1970), 85-86.
10. Kuhn, *Scientific Revolutions*, 97-98; Wolfgang Stegmüller, *The Structure and Dynamics of Theories* (New York, 1976), 13-14.
11. The latter was mixed with other items so that a value was not clear. Douglas Account Book, 223-224.
12. Bailey's British Directory; Richard Horwood, *The A to Z of Regency London* (Kent and London, 1985, sheet 16).
13. T. Lowndes's London Directory and Universal British Directory.
14. Donald Fenimore to author, 30 Apr. 1991; Bailey's 1783 Directory and Lowndes's London Directory, for the Year 1785.



Frontispiece. Detail map of the United States Exhibiting Post-roads, the Situations, Connections, and Distances of the Post offices, Stage roads, Counties, Ports of entry, Delivery For Foreign Vessels, and the Principal Rivers by Abraham Bradley, Jr., engraved by William Hamilton, Washington, D.C. 1796. 35 5/8" x 38" (inside present frame). MRF S-11,321. The arrow indicates Frederickburg.

Fredericksburg Clock Cases, 1765-1825

Jonathan Prown, Ronald Hurst, and Sumpter Priddy III

During the first half of the eighteenth century, Fredericksburg, Virginia, evolved into a thriving socioeconomic center, as did the smaller town of Falmouth directly across the Rappahannock River. Both fall-line sites served much of Virginia's northern Tidewater region and profited immensely from legislation that mandated the establishment of tobacco warehouses and subsequently attracted a wide range of agricultural commerce from Virginia's central piedmont.¹ Both towns also benefitted from significant production of iron, brass, and related metalware by businesses such as James Hunter's Iron Works in Falmouth, which in 1770 was described as the largest in America.²

The mid-century establishment of a ferry system to facilitate movement of goods and services across the Rappahannock hastened Fredericksburg's emergence as a dominant regional economic center. Thereafter its involvement in coastal and international commercial networks expanded considerably. Numerous observers noted Fredericksburg's progress. In 1759 the Reverend Andrew Burnaby described it as "by far the most flourishing town in these parts," while Falmouth, he claimed, remained "a small mercantile village. . . whose inhabitants are endeavoring to rival the Fredericksburghers in their trade."³

Fredericksburg's population grew steadily throughout the colonial period, and it numbered nearly 1,500 residents by the time of the Revolution.⁴ The town served as the primary marketplace for an ever-growing clientele of affluent rural planters, whose agricultural produce was sold for cash and traded for merchandise.⁵ Records indicate that many of the wares they purchased, including household accessories, medicine, books, and tools, were imported. After 1750, however, an increasing proportion were made locally, and among these goods was an array of time pieces, ranging in size from bracket or "table" clocks to large tall case forms.⁶ As in other American and British towns and cities, Fredericksburg clock production reflected the skills of two distinct groups of tradespeople, namely clock- or watchmakers, who built the brass and iron movements, and cabinetmakers, who constructed the wooden cases (see appendices).

Unlike many other articles produced by artisans in the early South, Fredericksburg clocks have long been recognized. One (see fig. 20), appeared in Paul Burroughs's pioneering 1931 overview, *Southern Antiques*.⁷ Another (see fig. 1) was illustrated in "Southern Furniture, 1640-1820," the catalog for the first major exhibit of southern cabinetwares, which occurred in Richmond in 1952.⁸ That same year saw the publication of George Barton Cutten's important survey, *The Silversmiths of Virginia (Together with Watchmakers and Jewelers) from 1694-1850*, which included biographies of Fredericksburg clockmakers. An even more detailed consideration of Fredericksburg clockmaking was part of Wallace Gusler's 1979 publication, *The Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, 1710-1790*.⁹

This study proposes to synthesize these earlier examinations of Fredericksburg's clockmaking and cabinetmaking communities and to augment them with new information. A considerable body of public and private records were consulted, much of which has been gathered by the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts. Other available resources included several eighteenth-century ledgers kept by Fredericksburg artisans such as Zachary Lewis, whose account book documents his prolific activity as a jeweler and clockmaker during the 1760s and 1770s.¹⁰ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, numerous clocks were surveyed. This process allowed the reassessment of physical and documentary remains of Fredericksburg's diverse clockmaking trades with specific concentration on wooden clock cases, particularly those associated with two of the town's most prolific artisans, Thomas Walker and John M. Weidemeyer.

Thomas Walker, Fredericksburg's best known colonial clockmaker, left behind a remarkable legacy of signed clock movements. Unfortunately, the lack of Fredericksburg tax records and newspapers prior to 1782, when most of these clocks were made, hindered research into Walker's early years. However, early court records indicate that he not only made clocks and watches but also repaired them. Listed in the 1769 estate of Spotsylvania County landowner Beverly Stanard is an outstanding debt of ten shillings owed to "Walker for repairing the clock."¹¹ A 1773 court document recorded that Walker took John Holloway, also of Spotsylvania County, as a clockmaking apprentice.¹²

Walker's reputation as a clockmaker was apparently widespread. For example, William Cabell of distant Amherst County noted in his 1774 diary that he "sent watch by P. Rose to Walker in Fredericksburg to be put in good order."¹³ Further, one of Walker's brass movements survives in a Delaware Valley-style case that probably was produced in the Valley of Virginia.¹⁴ In all likelihood, the movement was exported from Fredericksburg to the Virginia backcountry, where its owner had a case made there. This occurrence is especially noteworthy given the ready availability of locally made clock movements in the Valley.¹⁵

Twelve clocks with movements bearing Walker's name have been recorded. Each has a brass dial with a calendar wheel, and most feature additional mechanical options, such as strike/silent, seconds, and moon dials. The presence or absence of these elements was probably dictated by the customer's preferences and financial resources. The same was likely true for dial decoration since Walker's dials vary in degree of ornamentation from plain to relatively ornate. In the latter category, for instance, is a Walker tall clock at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA), that exhibits an engraved and painted rocking ship in the arch (see fig. 7a). Another Walker tall clock, now in the collection at Stratford Hall plantation in Stratford, Virginia, features an engraved brass figure of Father Time holding a scythe and accompanied by Latin and English inscriptions, including "*CARPE DIEM*" (see fig. 6a), which is Latin for "seize the day."

The consistency of size, materials, and workmanship and the presence of idiosyncracies in the engraving suggest that all of Walker's dials were executed in a single shop. This is evident in the character of the letters and Roman and Arabic numerals, where overall shapes are repeated and seraphs and scrolls are generally used in the same manner. Moreover, an impressive array of engraved foliage and other ornamentation on the dial of the MFA clock and the dials and back plates (see figs. 1a, 1b, 2 and 2a) of two Walker bracket clocks (see figs. 1 and 2) now at Colonial Williamsburg and Historic Deerfield can all be ascribed to the same shop.¹⁶ Based on their stylistic evolution from the late baroque to the rococo, it appears that the dials were made over a period of fifteen or more years. While it is possible that Walker imported all of them from a single British shop, a transatlantic business relationship of so many years duration is unlikely, especially in view of the frequent interruptions of

trade during this period caused by non-importation agreements and later a war that lasted more than six years. Instead, the consistency of execution, the span of time over which the dials were made, and Walker's documented ownership of "tools & instruments" for "clock & watch making" all point toward production in his own shop.¹⁷ However, the cast spandrels, the sheet iron hands, and a number of other exterior parts may well have been ordered from Britain.

A preliminary examination of the movements on six of the Walker clocks reinforced this Virginia attribution. Although the use of imported parts is again evident, each movement was finished in a workmanlike but uncomplicated and rather unrefined fashion, which differs from that normally associated with imported British models. For example, during his examination of Colonial Williamsburg's bracket clock, horologist Edward LaFond, Jr., noted that the movement, excluding the elaborately engraved front and backplates, was "ambitious in design, but not first quality workmanship."¹⁸

The Fredericksburg area was well suited for the production of clock dials and movements. As mentioned earlier, it had a prominent role in the iron industry and the manufacture of gun locks and other specialized steel and iron wares. Records also indicate that brass casting was done there.¹⁹ Not surprisingly, only one of the dial and movement combinations presently identified as being from eastern Virginia is marked with the name of a town other than Fredericksburg.²⁰

A Fredericksburg attribution of the cases for at least six tall clocks with Walker movements is based on the above attribution of the movements combined with the histories of four of the tall clocks. Although neither of the two previously mentioned bracket clocks, a form rarely produced in the South, has any early history, the fact that their movements were made in the same shop as those in the tall clocks suggests that their cases might have been made in Fredericksburg. One case (fig. 1) is mahogany with bottom, top, and seat boards of yellow pine. The other (fig. 2) is an unusually small and delicate mahogany and mahogany-veneered case with oak and yellow pine secondary woods. Despite their different sizes, the cases are conceptually quite similar. The top of each is composed of the same series of ovolo, fillet, and scotia moldings, although in varying proportions. Both front doors are adorned with openings of the



Figure 1. Bracket clock case, works signed by Thomas Walker, attributed to Fredericksburg, c. 1770. Mahogany with yellow pine secondary, HOA 19 3/4", WOA 10 13/16", DOA 8". Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF), accession (acc.) 1951-397. Photograph by Hans Lorenz. Unless otherwise noted, all cases and works illustrated hereafter have been attributed to Fredericksburg.

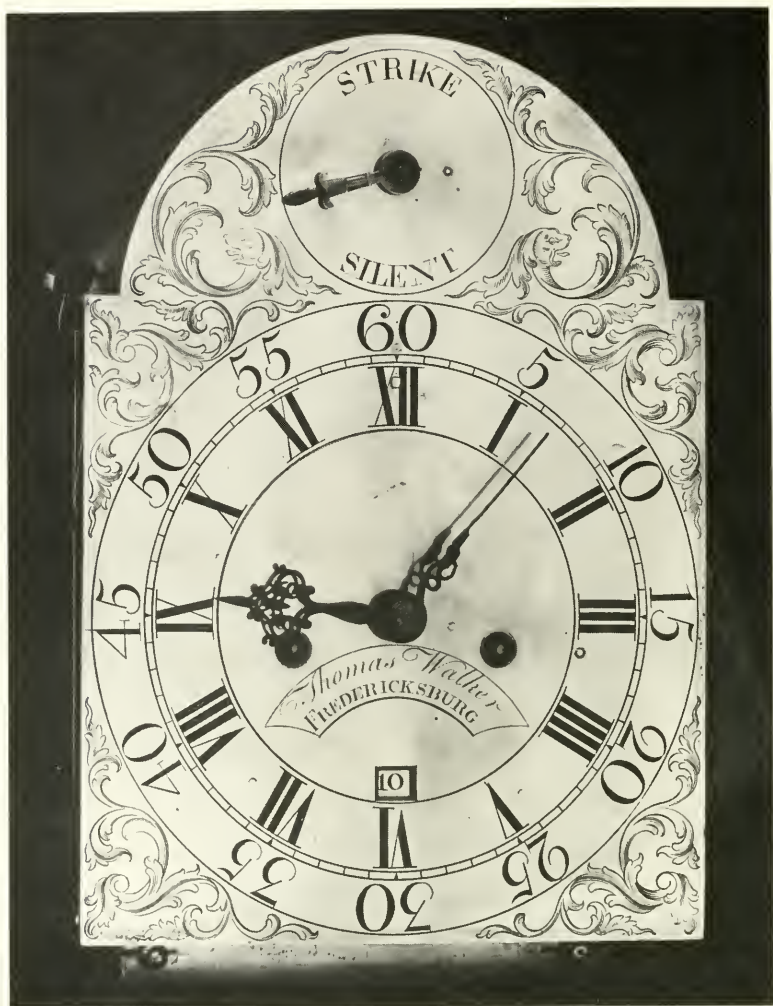


Figure 1a. Dial of clock in figure 1, signed by Thomas Walker, c. 1770. Brass and iron. HOA 10 1/4", WOA 7 3/4". Photograph by Hans Loreuz.

same form in the spandrels flanking the top arches. Now filled with later materials, these probably accommodated sawn wooden fretwork originally. This observation is based upon the depth of the openings and the glue residue that once held one-quarter-inch-thick elements in both clocks. The openings on the sides of both cases are also identically glazed and arched.

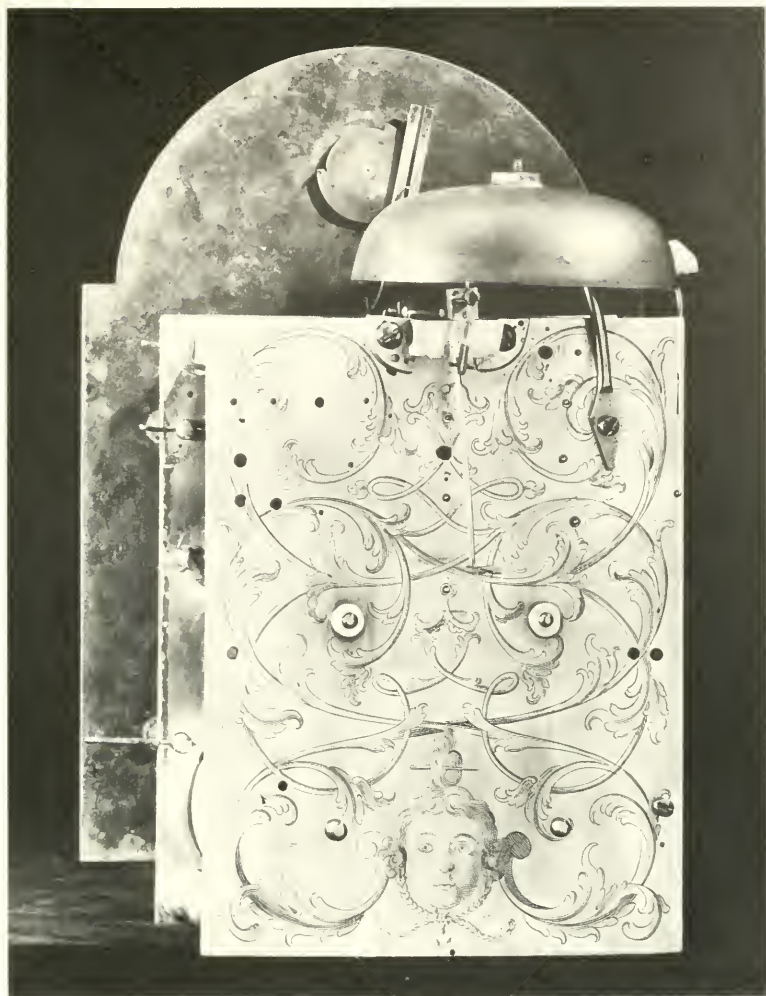


Figure 1b. Backplate of clock in figure 1. Brass. HOA $\sim 1/4"$, WOA $5\ 5/8"$. Photograph by Hans Lorenz.

Unfortunately, neither case is signed or marked, nor does either exhibit any structural or documentary evidence that could be used to determine its place of origin. The woods used in the construction of both cases were common to many American furniture making centers, including those in eastern Virginia. Furthermore, the simple, British-inspired form of each



Figure 2. Bracket clock case, works signed by Thomas Walker, c. 1770. Mahogany with oak and yellow pine secondary. HOA 12 1/2". WOA 6 5/8", DOA 5 1/4". Collection of Historic Deerfield, acc. L-29-84. Photograph by Amanda Merullo.



Figure 2a. Backplate of clock in figure 2. Brass. HOA 3 1/2", WOA 2 1/4". Photograph by Amanda Merullo. While the engraving on this backplate may not appear as refined as that on the clock in fig. 1b, it's important to keep in mind the diminutive size of this clock's movement.



Figure 3. Tall clock case, works signed by Thomas Walker, 1765-85. Mahogany with yellow pine secondary. HOA 97 1/4", WOA 21 1/4", DOA 9 1/2". CWF G1984-271, Gift of Mrs. Jane Lanham through the courtesy of Mrs. Shirley Lanham McCrary. Photograph by Hans Lorenz.

case could have been executed by almost any competent cabinetmaker. Given the probable Fredericksburg origin of the movements, however, it is logical to suggest that the cases were made there as well, particularly since such a large proportion of the Walker tall clock cases, which show similar British styling, can be ascribed to that town.

In addition to the clock in the Valley of Virginia case cited earlier, six of the known Walker movements survive in the tall cases originally made for them and permit a far more detailed analysis than the bracket clock cases. Five (figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7) of the six tall clock cases probably were produced by a single Fredericksburg-area cabinet shop. A sixth (fig. 8), while closely

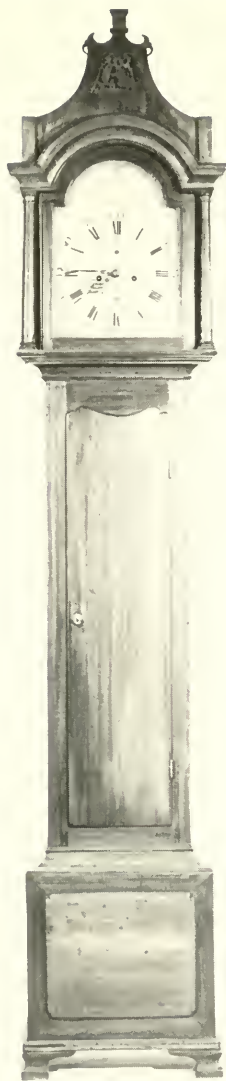


Figure 4. Tall clock case, works signed by Thomas Walker, 1765-85. Mahogany with yellow pine secondary. HOA 96", WOA 17", DOA 87/8". MESDA Research File (MRF) S-1297.



Figure 5 (left). Tall clock case, works signed by Thomas Walker, 1765-85. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. Private collection, photograph by Sumpter T. Priddy III.

Figure 6 (right). Tall clock case, works signed by Thomas Walker, 1765-85. Mahogany with poplar secondary. HOA 93", WOA 18 1/8", DOA 10". Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation, Stratford Hall Plantation, Stratford, Virginia.

related in design and proportion, exhibits minor differences in construction and detail that suggest it was made by a different hand or perhaps in an allied shop. None of the work above its hood cornice is original, so further determinations are difficult. Even so, the sixth case unquestionably reflects a local style apparent in the other five examples.

Of these six cases, those in figures 3, 5, 6, and 7 were available for firsthand structural examination and found to be



Figure 6a. Dial of clock in figure 6, signed by Thomas Walker, 1765-85. Brass and iron.

united by their delicate, British-style construction.²¹ Very few glue blocks were originally employed, and the carcass sides are quite thin, as little as three-eighths of an inch.²² Each has a backboard that is arched at the top, and each shows evidence of a locking mechanism behind the top rail of the trunk that secured the hood to the main carcass. Photographic studies indicate that all six clocks have trunk door frames wherein the rails are tenoned into the stiles, and all except the clock in figure 8 have mitered base frames.



Figure 7. Tall clock case, works signed by Thomas Walker, 1765-85. Mabogany with yellow pine, poplar, oak, and cherry secondaries. HOA 106 1/4", WOA 22", DOA 10 1/2". Karolik Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MRF S-8418.

Among the external design features shared by the six cases are the moldings of the hood cornice, trunk cornice, and trunk base, which are identical or nearly so. All include arched hood doors flanked by classical colonettes that are freestanding at the front and engaged at the rear. The five hoods that remain largely intact all have superstructures that once incorporated panels of blind or pierced fretwork (now missing in some cases, such as on the tympanum of the MFA clock). The tops of their trunk doors display elongated reverse-serpentine shaping with corners that are indented on five of the six, either with a double semicircular shape or a short cyma. All of the bases have applied thumbnail-molded panels, and five of the six panels exhibit shaped corners. Ogee bracket feet appear on the three cases that retain their original supports.



Figure 7a. Dial of clock in figure 7, signed by Thomas Walker, 1765-85. Brass and iron.

Without question the designs for most of the cases were directly inspired by British clocks of the period. The curved hood shape seen on the clocks in figures 3, 4, and 5 is a standard British form (fig. 9) that was widely used during the last half of the eighteenth century. Many of these clocks with “pyramidical” hoods, as the shape was sometimes termed, were imported into late eighteenth-century Charleston.²³ In America the pyramidical hood was used by cabinetmakers in Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, but the Fredericksburg versions emulate the British prototypes more closely. The fretted sound holes in the tympana of the Virginia clocks were common on British models but were rarely used elsewhere in the colonies.²⁴



Figure 7b. Hood of clock in figure 7.

The stylistic roots of the rather unusual tall clock case at the MFA can be narrowed even more precisely to Lancashire in the north of England. A number of surprisingly similar clocks from that part of Britain are known, and a compelling comparison can be drawn between the MFA clock and a Liverpool case (fig. 10) with a movement by Thomas Lister, Jr., of Halifax, West orkshire, some fifty miles to the west of Liverpool. Although more elaborate and of broader proportions, the Liverpool case exhibits almost every one of the design elements seen on the Virginia example. For instance, both have a parapeted hood (figs. 7b and 10a) with floral rosettes carved in perspective, and both have three finials, the center one surmounting an idiosyncratic overhanging cusp. The arch above the door of each hood has a small carved keystone, and both tympana are divided by

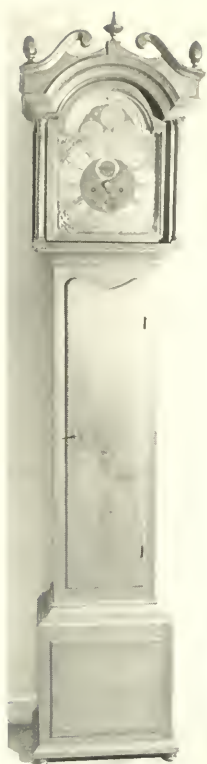


Figure 8 (left). Tall clock case, works signed by Thomas Walker, 1765-85. Walnut with yellow pine and poplar secondaries. HOA 84 1/2", WOA 17 5/8", DOA 10 1/4". MRF S-6050.

Figure 9 (center). Tall clock case, works signed by William Webster, London, England, c. 1770. Mabogany and mabogany veneer with deal secondary. HOA 102", WOA 20", DOA 9 3/4". CWF 1954-2006. Photograph by Hans Lorenz.

*Figure 10 (right). Tall clock case, works signed by Thomas Lister, Halifax (West Yorkshire), England, c. 1780. Dimensions not available. Photograph reprinted from Brian Loomes, *Grandfather Clocks and their Cases* (Newton Abbot, Devon, England: David and Charles, 1985). Although the movement was made in Halifax, the case mirrors numerous prototypes from nearby Liverpool.*

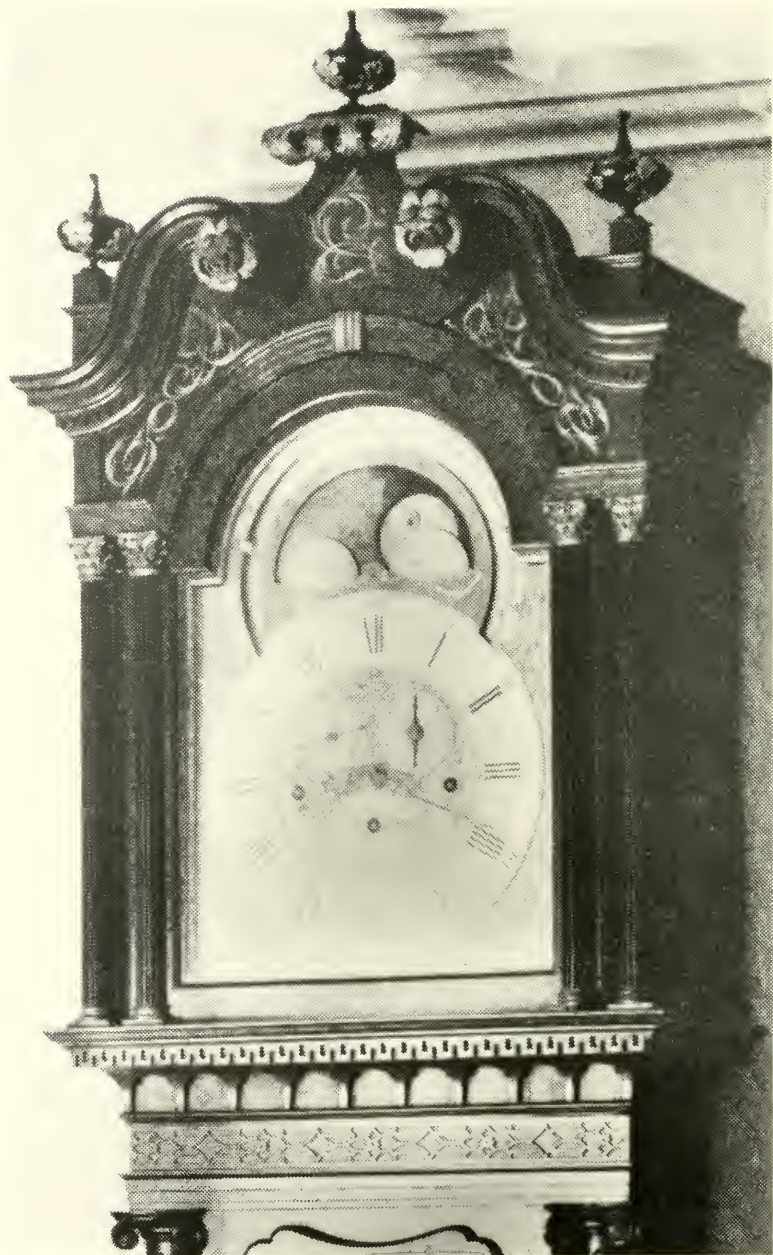


Figure 10a. Hood of Lister tall clock case in figure 10.

strapwork into three spandrels organized around a central swag-shaped element. The Liverpool case has fretlike panels of painted glass in the right and left spandrels, as well as a band of sawn fretwork above the trunk door. The MFA clock also originally had sawn fretwork—now missing—in all three of these locations. Finally, both cases have similarly shaped trunk doors, base panels with “hollow” corners, and ogee bracket feet.²⁵ These strong stylistic affinities leave little doubt that the maker of the Walker case had either studied clock cases from Lancashire or was from that area himself.

In a study of this kind, it would be desirable to compare the Walker cases to other furniture from colonial Fredericksburg, but a detailed exploration of that city’s early cabinet work is in its infancy, and few statements can be made about its characteristics. A significant new finding strengthens the Fredericksburg attribution for the six Walker tall clocks: although the original ownership of the MFA and Stratford Hall clocks is unknown, the other four have known early histories either in Fredericksburg or in one of its nearby counties. The clock in figure 3 descended in the Otterback family of Prince William County, about twenty miles north of Fredericksburg. That in figure 4 was first owned by Dr. Thomas Walker (1715-1794), whose relationship to the clockmaker is not known. After 1763 Dr. Walker’s principal residence was at Castle Hill in Albemarle County, but he had earlier been a full-time resident of Fredericksburg, and he continued to own a town house there in later years.²⁶ John Grigsby (1720-1794) was the original owner of the clock in figure 5. He resided first in Stafford County, directly across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg, and later in Culpeper, approximately fifteen miles upstream. The clock illustrated in figure 8 descended in the Tompkins family at Ormsby, an estate in Caroline County, some fifteen miles southeast of Fredericksburg. So many Fredericksburg-area histories within one group of artifacts strongly points toward local production.

The MFA clock, unlike the more recently discovered examples in the group, has been in a public collection for decades and has been much studied. Because the case did not fit precisely into any of the recognized cabinet schools from the North and because it was long believed that the South produced little or no furniture of consequence, at one time there was great speculation concerning its place of origin. The first realistic

assessment of the case was published in 1979 in *The Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia*, where furniture historian Wallace Gusler convincingly dismissed the vague Philadelphia attributions that had been proffered earlier. Recognizing the purely British nature of the structural elements, a trait shared by much southern furniture, and acknowledging the Fredericksburg origin of the movement, he rightly ascribed the case to Virginia, attributing it more specifically to Williamsburg based on the best information available at the time.²⁷ However, the strong stylistic and structural relationship of the MFA case to those with known Fredericksburg-area histories convincingly suggests that it also was made in Fredericksburg.

Fredericksburg's cabinetmaking history contributes to and further supports the probability that the tall and bracket clock cases were made there.²⁸ Records clearly indicate that Fredericksburg, like most of the other municipalities in eastern Virginia, maintained a diverse and prolific cabinet industry of its own. Moreover, several of its principal artisans had ties to Thomas Walker. A sampling of the documented furniture makers working in late colonial Fredericksburg includes James Allan, a prosperous tradesman who remained in business for more than half a century, from at least 1740 until his death in 1799.²⁹ Among his customers was George Washington, who recorded a payment of £3.10 to "James Allan for Mahogany Stands" on 2 December 1759 while en route from Williamsburg to Fairfax County.³⁰ Thomas Miller, who worked in Fredericksburg as a cabinetmaker and joiner from as early as 1768 until 1802, was also quite successful. At Miller's death, his large shop contained a vast array of tools, including more than sixty chisels and gouges, over one hundred and fifty planes, and seven work benches.³¹

As in other eastern Virginia cities, a number of Fredericksburg's cabinetmakers were British-trained. Consequently, the British design and structural influences common to furniture made in Norfolk, Petersburg, and Williamsburg were present in Fredericksburg as well.³² Among the British tradesmen who practiced there was Thomas Gray, a disgruntled "Cabinet Maker," who unsuccessfully sued James Allan in 1752 for yearly wages, according to the "contract he signed in Great Britain."³³ Thomas Miller was an immigrant as well, apparently born and trained in Scotland. He employed a number of inden-

tured British artisans, including cabinetmaker George Eaton in 1768 and “Convict Servant . . . WILLIAM JENKINS, by Trade a Cabinet Maker, about forty five years old,” who ran away from Miller in 1772.³⁴

The most compelling piece of evidence regarding the abilities and sophistication of the Fredericksburg furniture making community survives in a cabinetmaker’s waste book for the years 1767-77. It is unfortunate that the artisan’s name is not recorded in any of the extant pages, but most of the patrons listed lived either in Fredericksburg, Falmouth, or an adjacent county. The work described in the entries clearly indicates that this shop was capable of producing virtually any furniture form then available in the colony.³⁵ Among the finished products was furniture made with a variety of woods, including mahogany, cherry, walnut, and maple. In addition to the usual chairs, dining tables, and “Pillar & Claw” (or tea) tables, the shop offered forms such as high post bedsteads with testers, posts that were either “octagon” or fluted, and the customer’s choice of lath or sacking bottoms. Also offered were sideboard tables, large and small “Buffitts” or china presses, picture and looking-glass frames and “Swing” glasses, Windsor chairs, and at least one “Chist [of] Drawers With [De]sk [i.e., secretary] Draw in Top” as early as 1767.

The most ambitious form noted in the waste book is the cabinet, a tall case piece with a number of small drawers concealed behind a lockable door or doors, the whole resting on a stand of table height or a chest of full-width drawers. Early Virginia-made cabinets are rare—only three eighteenth-century examples are known today—yet this Fredericksburg shop produced two of them within ten years: a “Cabinet of Chirritree” priced at £8 for Colonel James Madison of Orange County in 1774, and another the following year for Captain Laurence Taliferro, charged at the substantial sum of £13. Interestingly, one of the known Virginia cabinets (fig. 11) is made of “chirritree” and has a door with reverse-serpentine shaping exactly like that on the trunk doors of Walker tall clocks. Although long attributed to Williamsburg, the cabinet has a history of ownership just outside Fredericksburg in Culpeper County.³⁶

The unidentified cabinetmaker’s shop made clock cases as well. A “Chereetree Clockcase” priced at £3.10 was supplied to Colonel Madison in 1773. In fact, the waste book even contains a detailed, if rough, sketch (fig. 12) of a tall clock case with ogee



Figure 11. Cabinet, probably Fredericksburg, c. 1775. Cherry with yellow pine and cherry secondaries. HOA 72", WOA 40", DOA 21". Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm Jamieson.

bracket feet, freestanding hood columns, and an arched hood door, all features that are found on Walker tall clocks. This tradesman also had several business dealings with clockmaker Walker. Money changed hands between them for unspecified reasons on several occasions, and in 1767 the cabinet shop supplied Walker with a shallow drawer fitted with eighteen small compartments, perhaps intended for the storage of clock and watch parts.⁵⁷

Many woodworkers in the Fredericksburg area could have built the wooden cases for Thomas Walker's clock movements, but perhaps the most likely source was Walker's own brothers, Robert and William. From the 1740s to at least 1761, Robert Walker, a joiner and chairmaker by trade, lived and apparently worked a few miles downstream from Fredericksburg in King



Figure 12. Tall clock case plan from unidentified Fredericksburg-area cabinetmaker's waste book. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera 63x11.

George County. During the late 1760s he was located across the Rappahannock River in Stafford County. By 1786, when Thomas wrote his will, Robert resided in the city proper.³⁸ Cabinetmaker and joiner William Walker lived in Stafford County. During the 1760s he operated in King George County, at which time he made furniture for and bought tools from Falmouth merchant William Allason.³⁹ Entries in the unidentified cabinetmaker's waste book further record that by the early 1770s, William Walker was a contract employee for that individual, and that he worked at the rate of £25 per annum. Walker apparently continued to ply the trade at his own shop during these years, since the mystery cabinetmaker noted in 1771 that he had "Brought to Will Walkers & left there 100 foot Be[ech] Plank."⁴⁰

It is clear that the Walker clock cases represent the beginning of what would become a long tradition of clock case construction in Fredericksburg, a tradition that was undoubtedly tied to the town's production of clock movements. Revealingly, no documented high-style Virginia clock cases, either pre- or post- Revolutionary, can be attributed with any certainty to Norfolk, Portsmouth, Williamsburg, Petersburg, or Richmond. Accordingly, with the exception of a few post-Revolutionary Alexandria-made clocks, Fredericksburg appears to have been the hub of clock case production in the eastern half of Virginia for most of the preindustrial period.

Walker's will was entered into Fredericksburg city records in October 1786, and he died before the personal property tax list was prepared the following year. By that time he had amassed a considerable estate, which included several slaves and at least four town lots. Walker's wife Jane, the will's primary beneficiary, was appointed executrix, and was charged with the continued care and education of their eight children, six daughters and two sons, Thomas Nelson and James. Walker stipulated that when the boys attained their majority they were to assume ownership of several lots in town.⁴¹ He further instructed: "I give & bequeath to either of my sons that shall actually follow & exercise my trade of clock and watch making, all my tools & instruments belonging to said trade, Or if they [both] follow said trade I direct that said tools to be equally divided between them."⁴² Following their father's wishes, both sons subsequently became involved in allied trades.

A 1791 notice in *The Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser* reads "James Walker, WATCH & CLOCK MAKER, INFORMS the Public in general, that he has opened shop in the house formerly occupied by his father where all commands in his profession will be gratefully received and punctually dispatched."⁴³ Like his father, James made and repaired clocks and watches. Whether James trained under his father is not known, although it is a credible assumption. By 1796 James resided alone in a one-story wooden dwelling house and shop on Caroline Street, and during the next several years became successful enough to take on several apprentices.⁴⁴

There is little evidence regarding the source of James's wooden cases, but again, a familial source is possible. His cousin Alexander Walker, the town's most prolific early nineteenth-

century cabinetmaker and warehouseman, may have provided the cases.⁴⁵ An even more likely producer was James's younger brother, Thomas Nelson Walker, who in 1804 advertised his services as a "CABINET & CHAIR-MAKER" at the location formerly occupied by Robert McKildoe.⁴⁶ Promising both punctuality and attention to detail, he confidently declared that his wares could be purchased at the same prices given for equal goods "on the Continent."

Despite his apparent prosperity in Fredericksburg, James Walker moved to the thriving city of Richmond in 1805. There he sought the economic and production advantages of acquiring a partner, namely William McCabe (see fig. 24). Like most partnerships in the period, the venture was short-lived.⁴⁷ After its dissolution, Walker remained in the capital city, where he opened his own clock-and watch-making shop near the Capitol building. In a cleverly worded promotion, he announced:

As it is the peculiar characteristic of all quacks and bunglers in all trades, to praise themselves, put on airs of consequence, promise much, and pretend to a great deal, J. W. will not even touch upon his capabilities, but merely say, that he hopes those who may choose to throw their custom in his way, will have good reason to be satisfied with the performance of his work. He will be completely satisfied when his skill as an artist meets with such encouragement as it ought justly claim.⁴⁸

No further information on James's Richmond clockmaking career has come to light, nor is there more evidence about his brother's cabinetmaking career. Tax records reveal that while in Fredericksburg, Thomas was assessed for as many as five servants or employees whose presence suggests that he attained a moderate degree of economic success. By 1809 Thomas no longer lived in Fredericksburg, but because eight people with the same name appear in the 1810 Virginia census, including one in nearby Caroline County, his eventual residence is not known. In sum, it appears that although the Walker brothers were involved in a variety of business ventures, neither ever matched his father's considerable economic and professional achievements. Like the wider range of early nineteenth-century Virginia artisans, they evidently were not able to compete with the South's growing post-Revolutionary reliance on imported, inexpensive northern wares.⁴⁹

Another Fredericksburg-associated clock group clearly demonstrates that, whether via Thomas Nelson Walker or other local artisans, the distinctive MFA tall clock (see fig. 7) inspired several later forms. Among these is a neoclassical tall clock (fig. 13) that originally was owned by Captain Thomas Marshall of Fauquier County, brother of Chief Justice John Marshall.⁵⁰ Family history indicates that in 1785 the clock traveled with Thomas Marshall and his family to Kentucky, where it remained in family hands until the twentieth century.⁵¹ The clock retains its original movement that, while unsigned, probably was made in Great Britain. The inlaid rosettes on the pediment represent the first clear indication of the emerging neoclassical style in



Figure 13. Tall clock case, unsigned works, c. 1810. Cherry with light and dark wood inlays, and poplar secondary; painted iron and brass. HOA 100". Photograph by Sumpter T. Priddy III.

Fredericksburg. Apparently the case was new when it was taken to Kentucky, for X rays of the rosettes revealed no evidence of either nails or nail holes that would have suggested an earlier use of carved or applied rosettes.



Figure 13a. Hood of clock in figure 13. Photograph by Sumpter T. Priddy III.

Although designed without a parapet above the cornice and without spandrels in the pediment, the case has several features that clearly link it to Fredericksburg production and to the earlier Walker cases. Among these elements are the reverse-serpentine shaping of the door, the fluted quarter-columns set on high plinths, the cove-molding behind the colonettes, and the overhanging cusp (fig. 13a)—here precariously secured to the case by a metal spike protruding from the top of the central hood plinth. A further tie between this case and the documented Walker examples appears in the locking mechanism on the hood door. While such devices are relatively common on pre-Revolutionary British clocks and are occasionally found on American forms, this later incarnation is anachronistic and



Figure 14. Tall clock case, works signed by Hugh Andrews, probably Charleston, (West) Virginia, c. 1810. Cherry and mahogany with light and dark wood inlays, ebonized beading, and poplar secondary. HOA 103". Private collection. Photograph by Katherine Wetzel. The works of this clock are signed "Hu. Andrews/ Charleston."

provides a further connection to earlier Fredericksburg case-making traditions. The mitered mortise-and-tenon joints on the hood door represent the earliest example of that approach, which later was used with great frequency on neoclassical cases made in the Fredericksburg area.

A small but growing group of tall clock cases closely related to the Marshall and the documented Walker forms were later produced in the far western part of Virginia (now West Virginia), forms that further indicate Fredericksburg's role as an influential clock case style center. One of these western examples (fig. 14) houses a movement signed by "Hu. Andrews."

of "Charleston." Virginia (now West Virginia).⁵² Incised in script on the back of the movement is "H. Andrews" and the date "May 4, 1802." Like so many other clockmakers, Hugh Andrews also worked as a silversmith and his personal touchmark, "HA," appears seven times on the movement. Within five months of completing the signed clock, Andrews left Charleston and returned to Washington Boro, Pennsylvania, twenty miles southwest of Pittsburgh, where he first appeared in the tax records during the 1790s. There he advertised his services as a clock- and watchmaker in *The Tree of Liberty* on 30 October 1802.⁵³

The Andrews clock case is not only one of the earliest from the mountains of western Virginia, but indeed one of the finest southern examples of neoclassical design. The exceptional crotch-figured cherry is highlighted by mahogany crossbanding, quarter fans in the door and base, and a shaped skirt with a fan inlay. Like so many other southern artisans, this cabinetmaker adorned his work with ornate, Baltimore-made inlay—specifically, an eagle on the pediment (fig. 14a). The case is further accented by the use of ebonized cockbeading throughout. The narrow base is unconventional but seems appropriate to the case's vertical proportions and may in fact be an indication of Scottish influence.⁵⁴



Figure 14a. Hood of clock in figure 1-4. Photograph by Katherine Wetzel.

Two other clocks in this group have been identified. The first (fig. 15) displays freestanding columns in place of engaged quarter columns, a detail evident on many Lancashire clocks (see fig. 10).⁵⁵ The simulated fluting on these columns results from the use of color contrasted stringing and parallels an approach found on several later Fredericksburg examples (see figs. 20 and 21). Differing from the Andrews clock, its pediment is adorned with a diamond-shaped patera inlay. The outer face of the white-dial movement is not marked with a maker's name, nor is that on a second related tall clock, which was found just prior to the publication of this article.

While the unsigned movements reveal little about the history of their cases, the documented Andrews example offers further information. Andrews's name points toward a Scottish origin and the design of the clock case housing his movement similarly reflects a Scottish/Northern English tradition. Also, the affinity of the Marshall family clock and the two other examples to the Thomas Walker clock at the MFA strongly suggests that western Virginia case maker either trained in Fredericksburg worked with a Fredericksburg-trained artisan, or was at least aware of that city's clock cases. Furthermore, like the Marshall family clock, the West Virginia cases are made of cherry and poplar. Their mitered door construction is similar and their hood locking mechanisms, cove moldings behind the colonettes, and arch-crested backboards are virtually identical.

The Walker tall clock cases and their numerous associated forms represent just one part of the story of Fredericksburg clockmaking. Another integral component is a group of documented tall clocks made by John M. Weidemeyer, who worked in town from 1804 to 1822. His fashionable movements and the cases in which they are housed attest to the diversity of local clock- and cabinetmaking traditions and speak strongly of the numerous regional, national, and transatlantic trends that shaped allied trades in the region.

Unlike most of the artisans in pre- and post-Revolutionary Fredericksburg, Weidemeyer was not of British extraction. An 1810 application for American citizenship, wherein he disavowed his allegiance to "any Prince, potentate, State or sovereignty whatsoever particularly to Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of France & King of Italy," reveals that Weidemeyer was originally from France.⁵⁶ Before arriving in Fredericksburg, he



Figure 15. Tall clock case, unsigned works, probably Charleston, (West) Virginia, c. 1810. Cherry with light and dark wood inlays, and poplar secondary. HOA 105 1/2", WOA 20 3/4". Private collection.

resided in Baltimore, where he appeared in the 1800 and 1801 city directories as a "Watch Maker."⁵⁷ However, the exact date of Weidemeyer's arrival in America and the location of any of his residences prior to Baltimore are unknown.

In 1806 Weidemeyer advertised his services as a watch-and clockmaker in the *Fredericksburg Virginia Herald*. Shortly thereafter he was among the many victims of the great Fredericksburg fire of 1807.⁵⁸ While the full extent of his losses was not recorded, within several months he resumed business in a dwelling house and detached shop, both formerly rented by cabinetmaker Thomas Nelson Walker.⁵⁹ In addition to providing numerous clockmaking services carried out by "the best

workmen in the United States,” Weidemeyer sold imported gold and silver jewelry, a practice common to many southern clockmakers.⁶⁰ He also made jewelry and announced that he would give cash for “all kinds of CLEAR ROCK CRYSTAL (a kind of Pebble, found in some of the back counties)—The Yellow, brown or purple . . . preferred.”⁶¹ An 1808 advertisement by another artisan made reference to “John Weidemeyer . . . Silversmith,” which indicates that he was not known solely as a clockmaker.⁶² This pattern of clockmakers also working as silversmiths apparently differed from continental norms. In a letter to her parents, the wife of Petersburg clockmaker Hyman Samuel wrote, “Here it is not like in Germany where a watchmaker is not permitted to sell silverware. (The contrary is true in this country.) They do not know otherwise here. They expect a watchmaker to be a silversmith here.”⁶³

Weidemeyer participated in Fredericksburg’s clockmaking community in a number of ways. In addition to making and selling timepieces, he bought clockmaking and metalworking accessories from the estates of other tradespeople. In 1809, for example, he purchased “steel rollers” from the estate of James Brown, another silversmith and clockmaker.⁶⁴ Weidemeyer also served as a source for clockmaking and silversmithing materials. In 1817 he announced that he could provide “Watchmakers in the country” with clocks, watches, chains, keys, and seals at the lowest Baltimore and Philadelphia prices.⁶⁵

Seven signed Weidemeyer clock movements, all of them with painted dials, have been identified. Despite his French heritage, his documented clock dials do not typify traditional French customs. Instead they more closely resemble British prototypes and in fact make use of English components. Furthermore, the wooden cases in which Weidemeyer’s movements are housed mirror a variety of important Anglo-influenced forms best known for their associations with other American clockmaking centers. Such stylistic patterns suggest that while Weidemeyer and perhaps some of the case makers with whom he worked were immigrants, they unquestionably manufactured clocks to meet American tastes.

Three of the Weidemeyer clock cases clearly exhibit strong stylistic ties to popular mid-Atlantic clockmaking traditions. In 1896 one of these examples (fig. 16) was donated by the Mothers of the Confederacy, Richmond Chapter, to the Confederate Museum (now the Museum of the Confederacy, hereafter



Figure 16 (right). Tall clock case, works signed by John M. Weidemeyer, c. 1810. Mabogany and mabogany veneer with cherry, poplar, and white pine secondaries. HOA 101". Collection of the Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia. Photograph by Jonathan Prown.

Figure 17 (right). Tall clock case, works signed by John M. Weidemeyer, c. 1810. Mabogany and mabogany veneer with lightwood and poplar inlays, and white pine secondary. HOA 95 3/4". MRF S-5353.

called MOC) in Richmond.⁶⁶ Among its prominent characteristics are contrasted stringing, a serpentine upper edge on the trunk door, and a dramatically scrolled pediment. Similar features appear on the case of another Weidemeyer tall clock (fig. 17), which was originally owned by James Lawrence Jones who lived at Beaumont in Orange County. According to family history, the clock arrived there "by water," without doubt a reference to the Rapidan River, a primary commercial route between Fredericksburg and the westward counties.⁶⁷ A third



Figure 16a. Dial of clock in figure 16, signed by John M. Weidemeyer, c. 1810. Painted iron and brass. Photograph by Jonathan Prown.

related clock case with a Weidemeyer movement, essentially a plainer version with ogee bracket feet and decorative hinges on the front of the door, was recently sold at auction.⁶⁸

These three Weidemeyer clock movements have a white dial fronted by a main sweep and surmounted by a seconds sweep, a calendar aperture below the main sweep, and transfer-printed global maps flanking the moon dial.⁶⁹ This was the most common dial configuration on early nineteenth-century American clocks; however, the Fredericksburg examples most likely were not manufactured on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. Such “White dials” were first produced in 1772 by Osborne and Wilson of Birmingham, England, and remained popular throughout most of the nineteenth century. Also called “japanned dials,” their surface treatment involved the application of a white lead ground and a variety of polychromed or raised ornamentation to an iron plate, which was then coated with

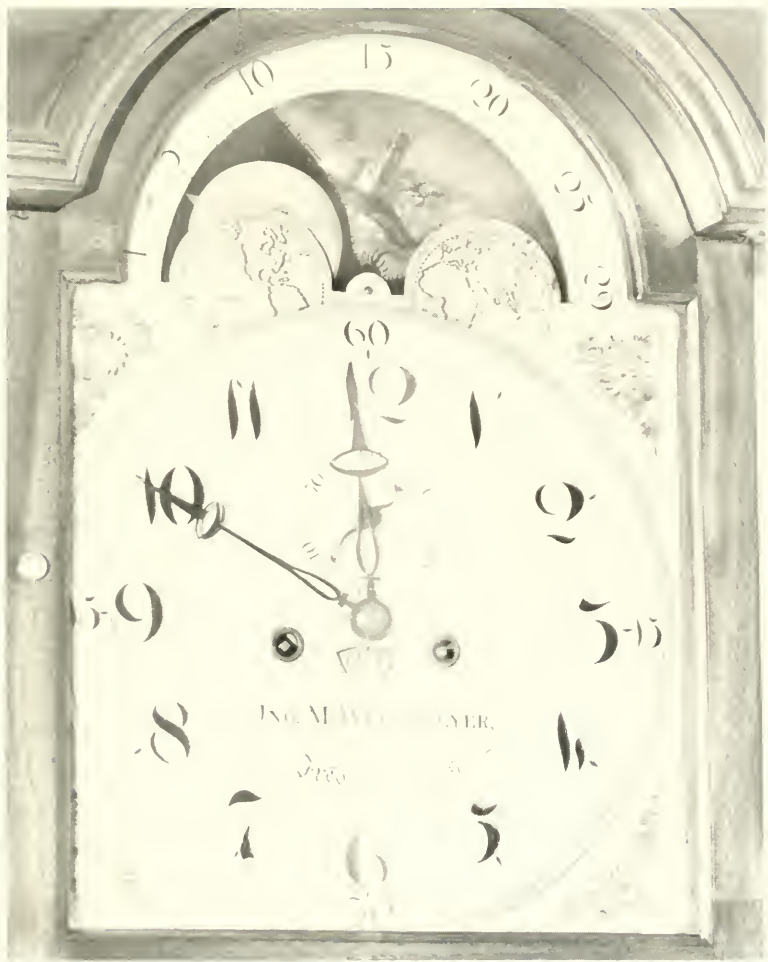


Figure 17a. Dial of clock in figure 17, signed by John M. Weidemeyer, c. 1810. Painted iron and brass.

varnish and baked in a furnace—a process created as an inexpensive means of duplicating the enamelled clock faces so popular on the continent.⁷⁰ Prior to 1820, the factory process of creating white dials lay beyond the technical capabilities of most American clockmakers, who instead ordered fully finished, numbered, and signed dials from specialized dial making factories in Great Britain. Evidence of Weidemeyer's reliance on British components is the mark of "Robert Roskell/Liverpool"

on the reverse side of the Jones clock dial. In fact, overt design similarities between this and many other Fredericksburg-area movements suggest that Roskell, a prominent clock- and watch-maker during the first half of the nineteenth century, may have provided parts to a number of makers there.⁷¹

The dial of the MOC clock exhibits arabic numerals (see fig. 16a). The Jones clock, too, features arabic numerals (fig. 17a), but they differ in form and mirror the Germanic lettering of Weidemeyer's name on several of his movements. Similar



Figure 17b. Hood of clock in figure 17.

numbering appears on a variety of German art forms, including *fraktur*. Curiously, the numbers on the Jones example are all vertically oriented, an approach not commonly found on American clocks. Other divergent techniques include stylized floral painted spandrels, ovoid pierced hands on the main dial, and a serpentine hand on the seconds dial.⁷² Despite these differences, the Jones and MOC clock dials appear to have come from one factory, which in turn suggests that Roskell provided Weidemeyer with a variety of dial designs.

Both the MOC and the Jones clock cases reflect a single cabinet shop tradition. In addition to their obvious stylistic affinities, they display virtually identical molding profiles at the waist, at the top of the trunk, and on the scrolled pediment. Proportional similarities are evident, notably in the shortened bases and capitals on the waist columns and in the framing of these columns with tall pedestals and extremely short blocks at the top. The tripartite maple inlaid keystone centered on the arch above the hood door on the MOC clock case also relates conceptually to the triple-fluted console and triangular plinth on the Jones family case. A parallel approach can be seen on another Fredericksburg tall clock with a Thomas Walker engraved brass movement.⁷³

A number of minor differences between the Jones and MOC cases are evident, however. The straight-bracket feet, plain-turned rosettes, and relatively modest degree of decoration on the latter example suggest that it was a less expensive model. The Jones clock displays a gilt wooden finial, while the MOC clock retains its original stamped and spun brass urn finial surmounted by a cast eagle. Egyptian-inspired brass capitals and bases adorn the hood columns of the MOC clock. Such small divergences likely represent design options offered by the case maker.

The design and ornamentation of the Weidemeyer clock cases were probably inspired by New Jersey and New York prototypes. The case of a tall clock made by Isaac Brokaw (fig. 18), who worked in Bridgetown, New Jersey, and was the son-in-law and apprentice of Aaron Miller, a prominent New Jersey clockmaker, is closely related to the Fredericksburg examples.⁷⁴ Also strikingly similar is an Albany, New York, example made by Nehemiah Bassett.⁷⁵ That related clock cases were made in other American towns as well suggests the considerable influence of New Jersey and New York clock case traditions; among

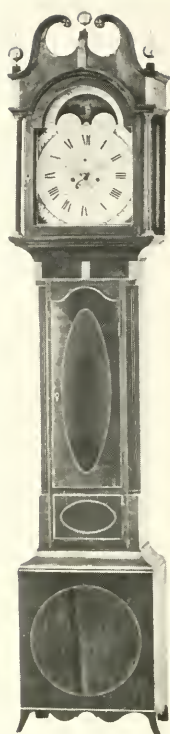


Figure 18. Tall clock case, works signed by Isaac Brokaw, Bridgetown, New Jersey, 1800-1810. Mahogany with red gum, white pine, and poplar secondaries; painted iron and brass. HOA 95 13/16", WOA 18 1/2", DOA 9 3/8". The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection, Yale University Art Gallery, acc. 1930.2095.

the places where similar forms were produced was Baltimore, where Weidemeyer had worked previously.⁶ The Brokaw clock case, like the Weidemeyer examples, has a serpentine upper edge on the waist door, bold geometric stringing, and a tall, thinly necked pediment. Like the Jones clock, it displays a striped inlay panel above the trunk door and a fluted console under the central hood plinth (figs. 17b and 18a). The pediment on the Jones case includes carved star-shaped rosettes, which correspond to the starlike patera inlays on the Brokaw rosettes.

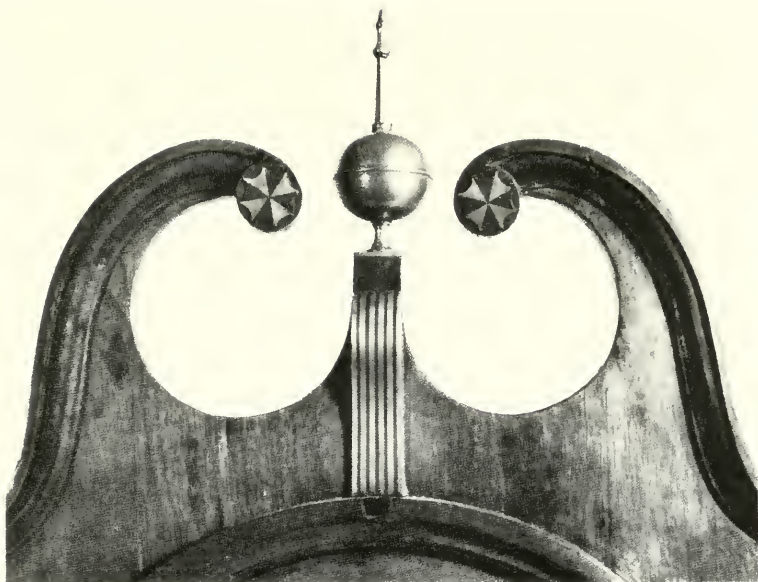


Figure 18a. Hood of clock in figure 18.

The many parallels between the Fredericksburg and New Jersey/ New York tall clock cases lead to several logical questions. Do the similarities necessarily signify the presence of a northern artisan in the Rappahannock River basin? To date, no such person has been identified. If they were not built by a transient artisan, were New Jersey/ New York clock cases widely exported to Fredericksburg and other southern centers, matching a general pattern of North/ South trade increasingly evident after 1790? That, too, does not appear to have been so.⁷⁷

With these questions unanswered, then, does a closer examination of the Fredericksburg examples reveal any significant dissimilarities to the northern forms? In fact, several notable variations are evident. Structurally and stylistically, many of the New Jersey/ New York forms differ from the Fredericksburg examples in their use of taller and narrower pediment scrolls. The northern prototypes typically display more ambitious and ornate decoration, including extra geometric panels below the waist door and additional strung panels above the trunk door and on the tympanum. Shaped consoles with contrasted stringing further differentiate many of the

northern clock cases. Conversely, a feature found on the MOC case and not typically associated with New Jersey/ New York customs are double- serpentine hood flankers that abut either side of the hood at the rear.⁷⁸ It is possible to conclude that these stylistic deviations, along with strong Fredericksburg-area histories and the known local manufacture of other sophisticated tall clock cases, point toward a Fredericksburg attribution for the Weidemeyer examples.



Figure 19. Tall clock case, works signed by Jebu Williams and John Victor, Lynchburg, Virginia, c. 1815. Mahogany with white pine secondary; painted iron and brass. HOA 96", WOA 20 1/8", DOA 9 7/8". CWF acc. 1930-53. Photograph by Delmore Wenzel.

Another tall clock (fig. 19) in the Colonial Williamsburg collection signed “Williams & Victor/ Lynchburg” documents the appearance of similar forms in Virginia’s piedmont. Williamsburg’s clock is nearly identical to a Williams and Victor tall clock owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.⁷⁹ While decidedly less ornate and lacking the fluted quarter columns on the trunk, both Williams and Victor clock cases mirror the Weidemeyer examples in their boldly scrolled, but delicately proportioned pediments. Moreover, the Lynchburg clocks reveal virtually identical trunk and pediment moldings.

These similarities are of a general nature only and by no means constitute a shop relationship, but when they are considered along with the personal histories of Jehu Williams and John Victor, a Fredericksburg connection emerges. Both artisans, who also worked as silversmiths, had familial ties to the Fredericksburg area. Williams was born in nearby Culpeper County in 1788 and lived there before moving to Lynchburg in 1813.⁸⁰ Victor, a native of Fredericksburg, arrived in Lynchburg around 1805. Although it is not known whether Williams or Victor received any training in Fredericksburg, their strong associations with the town and the similarity of their clock cases to Fredericksburg models merits additional consideration in future studies.

A markedly different facet of Fredericksburg clockmaking is exemplified by two other Weidemeyer tall clocks, one (fig. 20) of which was found in western Virginia in the early twentieth century and retains its original Weidemeyer movement. Below Weidemeyer’s name on the clock face, “Fredericksburg” appears in block lettering and not in the more florid, Germanic script used on the aforementioned movements. A nearly identical clock case (fig. 21) descended in the Spottswood family of Culpeper and Orange Counties and is now part of the Colonial Williamsburg collection. However, it houses an earlier British brass movement (fig. 21a) made circa 1780 by Thomas Harrison of Liverpool.⁸¹ The checkered center design and engraved cartouche-shaped signature plate typify the predominant west Lancashire or Liverpool face type also seen, for example, on a movement (fig. 22) by one of Harrison’s contemporaries, John Clifton.⁸² The Harrison movement probably was housed first in an earlier case and then later updated in Fredericksburg with a fashionable neoclassical case; physical

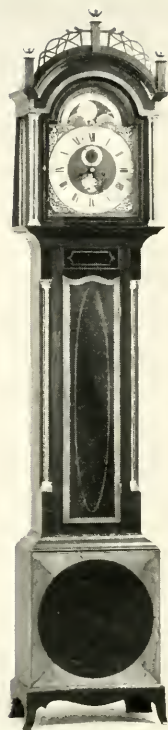
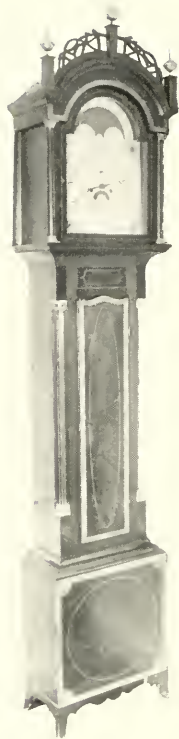


Figure 20 (left). Tall clock case, works signed by John M. Weidemeyer, c. 1815. Mabogany and mabogany veneer, with light and dark wood inlays and yellow pine secondary; painted iron and brass. HOA 20 5/8", WOA 20 5/8", DOA 10 5/8". MESDA S-6112.

Figure 21 (right). Tall clock case, works signed by Thomas Harrison, Liverpool, England, c. 1780. Mabogany with mabogany and satinwood veneer, and yellow pine secondary. HOA 103 1/2", WOA 20", DOA 10 1/2". CWF G1987-547. Bequest of Frederica McKenney Rapley. Photograph by Hans Lorenz.

evidence indicates that no other movement has ever been used in this case.⁸³

The case housing the Weidemeyer dial retains its original feet, but the hood plinths and finials are old replacements. So too is the fretwork, yet it is stylistically consistent with northern examples and may accurately reflect the original design. The Harrison tall clock was acquired minus its feet, fretwork, hood

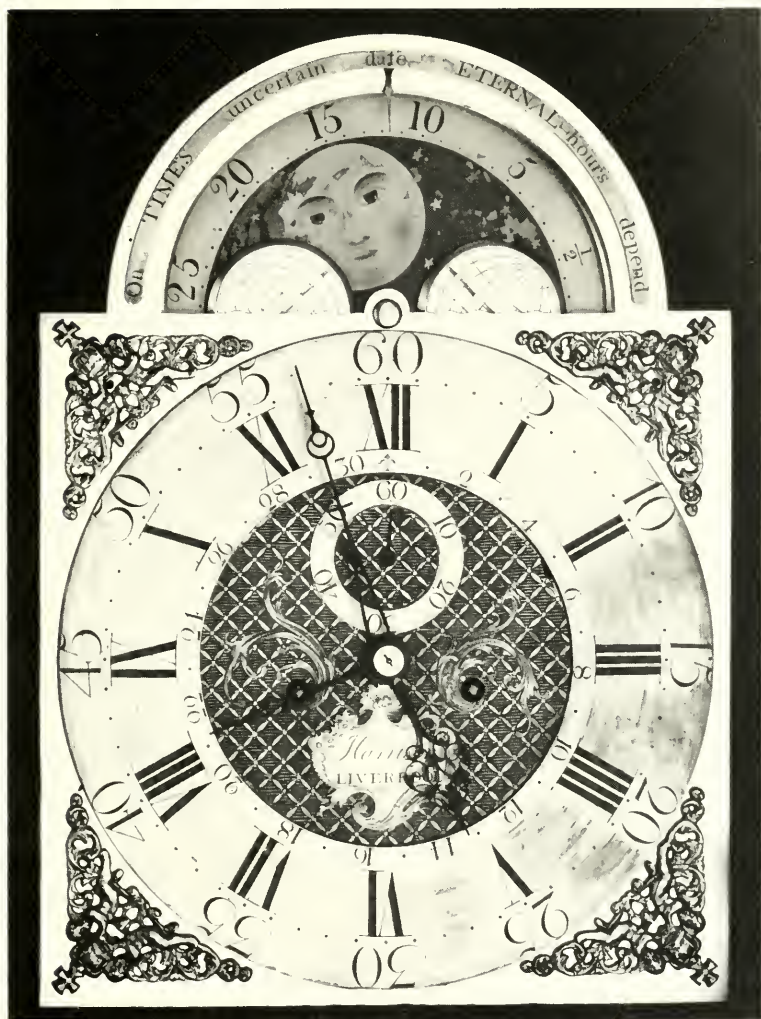


Figure 21a. Dial of clock in figure 21, signed by Thomas Harrison, Liverpool, England, c. 1780. Photograph by Hans Lorenz.

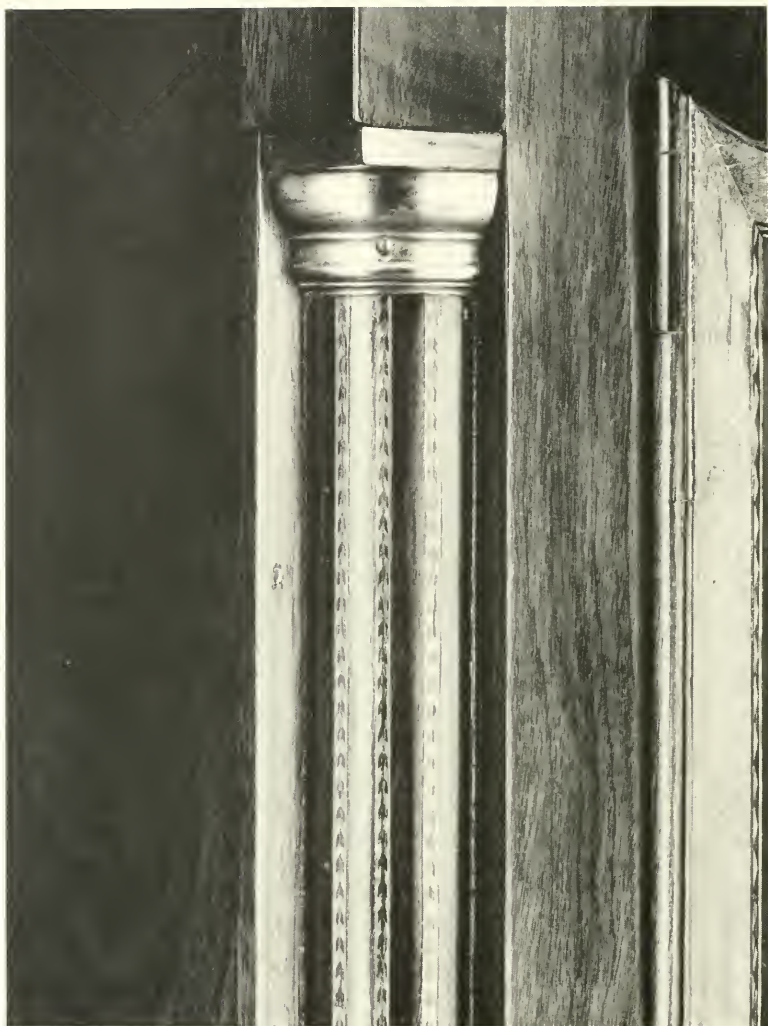
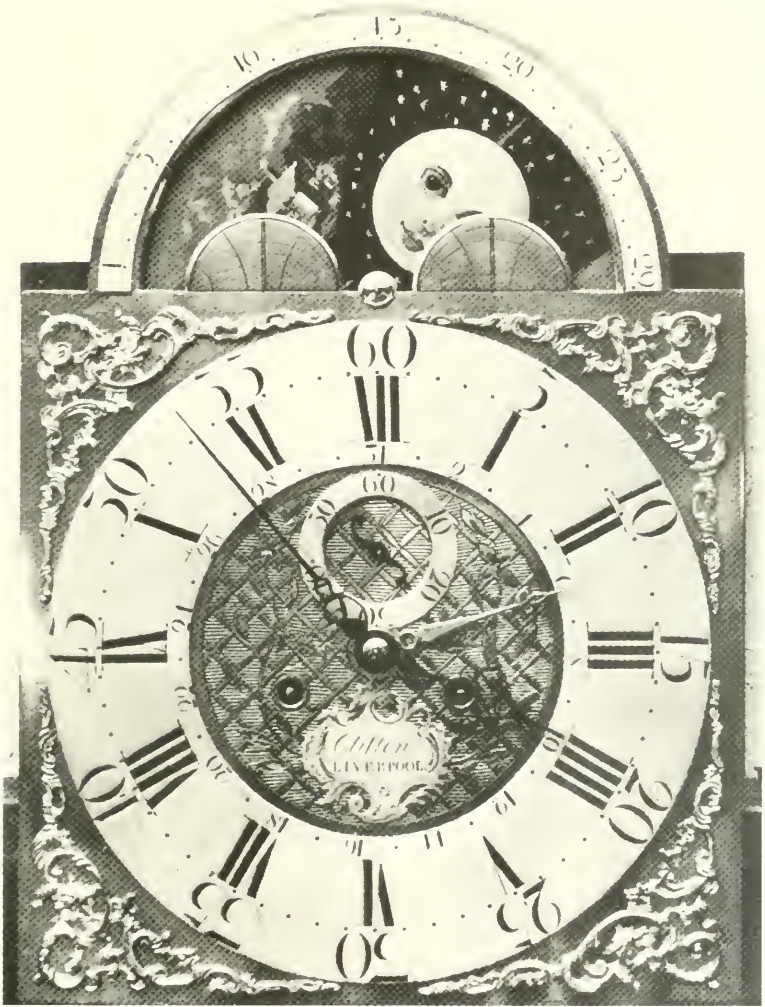


Figure 21b. Trunk of clock in figure 21, showing column. Photograph by Hans Lorenz.



*Figure 22. Clock dial, signed by John Clifton, Liverpool, England, c. 1785. Photograph reprinted from Brian Loomes, *Grandfather Clocks and their Cases* (Newton Abbot, Devon, England: David and Charles, 1985). The wooden case for this clock closely resembles that in figure 10 and the related Fredericksburg examples.*

plinths, and finials and with the arched roof of its hood missing. Based on surviving physical evidence and related elements on the Weidemeyer case, the Harrison tall clock has been conserved.⁸¹ The thin, arched roof of the hood now corresponds with its original configuration, and new fretwork, based on the Weidemeyer prototype, replaces the missing original. Classical brass finials rest atop new plinths seated in their original locations.

Simulated fluting (see fig. 21b) appears on the trunk and hood columns of both Fredericksburg examples. This sophisticated approach clearly indicates the maker's awareness of two-dimensional, neoclassical ornamentation. Elaborate stringing also frames the doors and hoods. The two cases display slightly different base designs, however. The Harrison example has a round mahogany panel surrounded by a satinwood veneer frame, whereas the Weidemeyer case features a central strung circle surrounded by thin satinwood banding and quarter-round projections at each corner.

Both of these distinctive Fredericksburg examples unquestionably emulate the "Roxbury" case design (fig. 23), perhaps the most recognizable of early American tall clock forms. The name acknowledges the Massachusetts hometown of the famed Willard family of clockmakers whose movements frequently appear in such cases. The Willards' Roxbury case, a plan based on a popular British form, was widely copied throughout New England and down the eastern seaboard.⁸⁵ Numerous examples of clocks with strong southern histories also document the design's popularity in the South. For example, two nearly identical New England-made Roxbury cases, one (fig. 24) at Colonial Williamsburg, house movements signed by William McCabe of Richmond, James Walker's one-time partner.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Roxbury-style tall clocks were also produced in Baltimore, where Weidemeyer may first have encountered the form.⁸⁷

In spite of their clear stylistic allegiance to Roxbury models, both Fredericksburg cases reveal several dissimilar features. Unlike the northern versions, which typically include white pine secondaries, the Fredericksburg examples use yellow pine backs, door cores, and blocking. On the Harrison clock the door battens are half-lapped to the stiles, and the waist molding is nailed to both the sides and the top of the base. Unusual by any

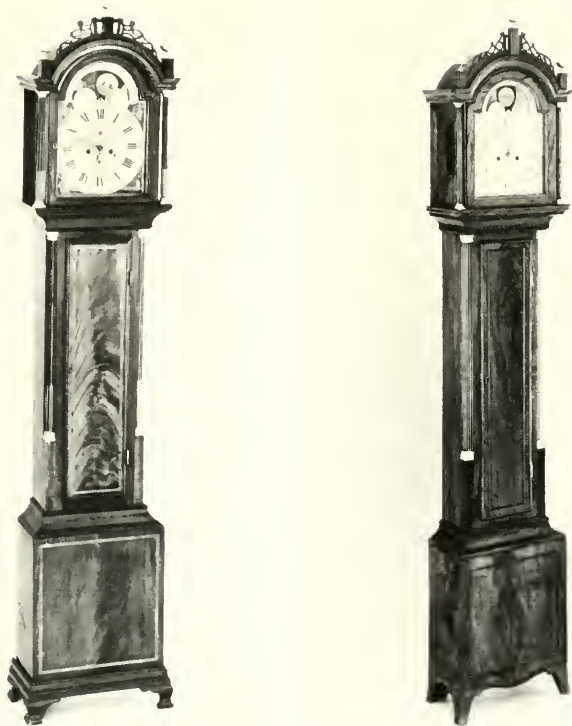


Figure 23 (left). Tall clock case, works signed by Aaron Willard Boston, Massachusetts (case and works), c. 1800. Mahogany and mahogany veneer with white pine secondary; painted iron and brass. HOA 100 1/8", WOA 21", DOA 10". Photograph by Hans Lorenz, CWF 1930-52.

Figure 24 (right). Tall clock case, works signed by William McCabe of Richmond, Virginia, case probably eastern Massachusetts, c. 1800. Mahogany with white pine secondary; painted iron and brass. HOA 99 1/2", WOA 18 7/8"; DOA 9 1/2". Photograph by Hans Lorenz, CWF 1930-174.

standard are the full-length, 3/4-inch-wide wooden strips set into rabbets behind the columns, which provide a larger gluing surface for the backs of the columns. Further securing the trunk assembly are 1 1/4-inch by 1/2-inch poplar blocks.

These cases also feature other decorative elements that reflect the traditions associated with New Jersey/ New York clock cases such as trunk doors with elongated strung ovals, serpentine upper edges, and lightwood banding. Both also display the prominent use of mahogany veneer panels with decorative stringing. To date, this combination of New England and New Jersey/ New York styles in a tall clock has only been seen in Fredericksburg.

Considered as a group, Weidemeyer's fashionable clock movements and the ambitious cases in which they were housed suggest that he was a successful artisan. Fredericksburg's early nineteenth-century tax records support this contention. Weidemeyer annually paid taxes for as many as nine white and black males, probably employees in his shop. The 1815 Virginia tax list reveals that he owned a considerable amount of personal property, including a carriage, a variety of fine furniture forms, and numerous pictures and looking glasses; curiously, however, Weidemeyer remained in rented spaces until purchasing his own property in 1820.⁸⁸

In 1818 Weidemeyer entered into a clockmaking partnership. The firm of "Weidemeyer & Peacock" announced their sale of a wide variety of British and European timepieces, as well as a selection of seals, keys, and silver flatware. As befell James Walker before him, Weidemeyer was unable to maintain a long-term partnership. Following the dissolution of his union with Richard Peacock, Weidemeyer assumed control of the business and again announced that he was manufacturing and repairing clocks and watches.⁸⁹

Weidemeyer also maintained business associations with relatives. Around 1819, John's brother Henry, a teacher, tuner, and repairer of piano fortes, moved to Fredericksburg from Lynchburg.⁹⁰ Perhaps also a connection was Louis Weidemeyer, who in 1817 announced the opening of his Lynchburg silver-smith and jewelry business and proudly recounted his considerable work experience "in all the different cities in Europe."⁹¹ Like John, he offered gold and silver work, as well as watches and jewelry of the latest fashions. Exactly how Louis was related

to John is not known. He advertised that orders for his services could be left at John Weidemeyer's shop. These Weidemeyer-Lynchburg connections further support the ties of the Victor and Williams clocks to Fredericksburg.

In 1822 John Weidemeyer notified Fredericksburg residents that he was moving to Charlottesville. No subsequent examples of his work have been found, nor has any further information concerning his career emerged. Tax records do suggest that he only stayed in Charlottesville through 1825, however. Before leaving Fredericksburg, he announced that all outstanding debts and unrecovered repairs were to be handled locally by William H. White. Weidemeyer detailed, "I with pleasure recommend Mr. [William H.] White to my customers, who I hope will encourage a young beginner who so much merits their attention, he having regularly served his time to this business under the care of one of the most experienced watchmakers in Philadelphia."⁹² Shortly thereafter White advertised his new business "in the stand formerly occupied by Mr. John M. Weidemeyer."⁹³

The clockmaking alliance between Weidemeyer and William White went well beyond this initial arrangement and illuminates yet another important aspect of clock case production in Fredericksburg. William was the son of Henry White, a successful silversmith who was active in Fredericksburg by 1790 and was married to the sister of Richard Peacock, John Weidemeyer's onetime clockmaking partner.⁹⁴ Henry White also repaired, made, and imported clocks and watches, many of which came from Philadelphia.⁹⁵ Newspaper advertisements and tax records reveal that by 1800 White had become a moderately affluent artisan. For example, after that time he was taxed annually for as many as nine servants or employees.

In 1817 Henry White entered into a partnership with his son William, who had just returned from his Philadelphia apprenticeship. "Henry White & Son" offered Fredericksburg residents a broad range of gold and silver products, as well as clocks and watches, leather goods, and even firearms. Among their specific services were the sale and repair of "Eight Day Clocks of the first quality, Moon and day of the month, English and French Gold and Silver Watches."⁹⁶ To date, no examples of their joint work have been discovered, and it remains unclear what clock forms, if any, they actually produced.

The partnership was dissolved in 1817, an amiable parting that allowed William to assume management of John Weidemeyer's significant Fredericksburg clockmaking operation. Henry White advertised alone thereafter, specifying his services as a silversmith and clockmaker. Probably dating from this time in Henry's career is a tall clock (fig. 25) now part of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities collection at the Mary Washington House in Fredericksburg. It has a signed movement for which *terminus post quem* exists with his death in 1827.⁹⁷ The classically decorated dial with handsomely painted spandrels depicting four allegorical figures (fig. 25a) is the most sophisticated painted dial used by a Fredericksburg maker.



Figure 25. Tall clock case, works signed by Henry White, c. 1825. Mabogany and mabogany veneer with white pine secondary; painted iron and brass. HOA 92 3/4", WOA 17 3/8", DOA 9 3/4". Collection of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Mary Washington House, Fredericksburg, Virginia.



Figure 25a. Detail of dial of clock in figure 25, showing one of the illustrated spandrels.

Several other features on the Henry White movement including a date dial instead of a calendar aperture below the seconds dial, further suggest a circa 1825 attribution, as do several decorative elements on the wooden case. Notable among the latter are the inverted stacked and turned feet, which commonly appear on American furniture made between 1820 and 1840. Similarly styled are the hood columns (fig. 25b), which resemble many other post-1820 American furniture turnings in their rather aclassical merging of architectural elements such as urns, balusters, toruses, and columns. However, several attributes of the Henry White case mirror those

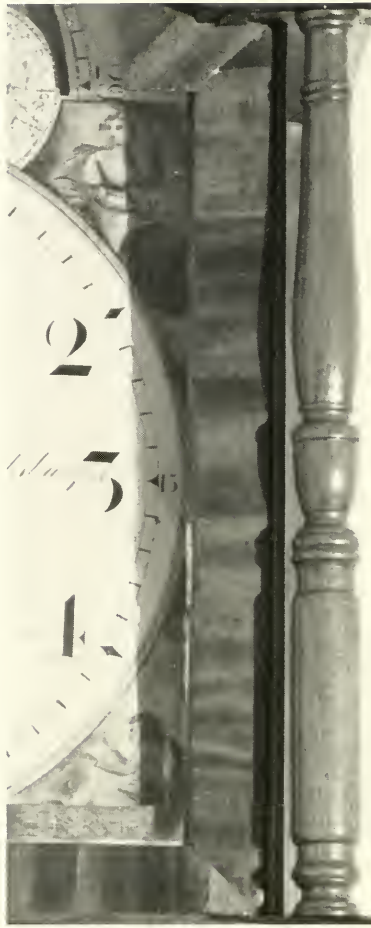


Figure 25b. Hood column of clock in figure 25.

found on an earlier Fredericksburg tall clock with a John Weidemeyer movement (fig. 26), which descended in the Murphy family of Westmoreland County on Virginia's Northern Neck, another region whose residents looked to Fredericksburg as their main market center. In addition to having nearly the same overall dimensions, the Weidemeyer and White clock cases share cross-banding around the bases, doors, and hoods. They also display closely related scrolled pediments that differ significantly from those on other cases with Weidemeyer movements.

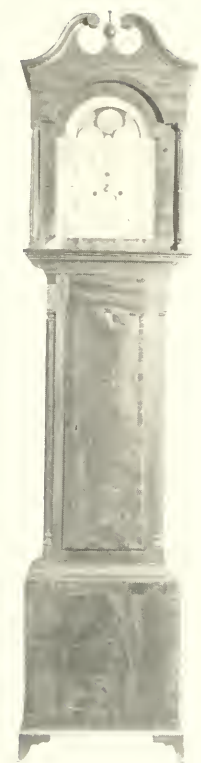


Figure 26. Tall clock case, works signed by John M. Weidemeyer, case attributed to Walter Bowie, Port Royal, Virginia, c. 1820. Mahogany and mahogany veneer, white and yellow pine secondaries. HOA 93 3/4", WOA 20 7/8", DOA 10 7/8". MESDA S-5002.

According to Murphy family tradition, the wooden case on the Weidemeyer clock was built by Walter Bowie, who married Mary S. Todd on 21 October 1823 at Hickory Grove, an estate in Caroline County.⁹⁸ Supporting this attribution is an 1812 advertisement placed in a Fredericksburg newspaper by John and Walter Bowie, whose Port Royal cabinetmaking establishment, twenty miles southeast of Fredericksburg, offered mahogany and mahogany veneered furniture in the latest fashion.⁹⁹ Featuring mahogany and mahogany veneer primaries, the Weidemeyer case corresponds to the Bowies' advertisement

and therefore strengthens its attribution to their shop. The White clock case is also constructed with mahogany and mahogany veneers, but deviates in the use of white pine secondary wood. By no means do the similarities between the Weidemeyer and White clock cases signify any direct shop relationship. They do, however, represent a case design that became increasingly common in Virginia after 1820 and that may have been originally influenced by Fredericksburg prototypes.

In sum, documentary evidence and surviving artifacts attest to Fredericksburg's remarkable early clockmaking traditions. Among these are Thomas Walker's signed movements, several of which display magnificent engraved ornamentation. Most of the cases housing his movements reflect Fredericksburg's sophisticated cabinetmaking community, which in turn parallel those in better known southern towns like Annapolis, Williamsburg, or Charleston, South Carolina. Another case with a Walker movement was probably produced in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, a fact that not only attests to Walker's far-reaching business connections, but also suggests Fredericksburg's crucial role as a major regional marketplace. John Weidemeyer also produced a significant group of clock movements. His works are housed in locally made cases that reflect a thorough understanding of neoclassical decoration and awareness of other important American clock case traditions.

While it is as comprehensive as possible, this study illuminates only one small part of that town's impressive clockmaking legacy and therefore does not provide a complete overview. Further analyses and syntheses of this subject are still needed. For example, an exploration of Fredericksburg clock movements by an experienced horologist, particularly one familiar with southern practices, might well identify significant or idiosyncratic aspects of the design and assembly of Fredericksburg movements. Additional studies on the transatlantic movement of clocks and clock parts are needed because horologists have not yet fully identified the extent to which American artisans manufactured clock parts or whether they relied primarily on imported goods. It is not clear if American watch and clockmakers, like those in Great Britain, served as "finishers," assembling components produced by "spring makers" and "movement makers," who forged brass wheels and

finished steel pinions.¹⁰⁰ Such specialized artisans do not generally appear in American records, although other mechanics may have completed the same tasks.¹⁰¹ Since these integral topics have yet to be explored fully, this clock case analysis should serve as a foundation upon which subsequent and more detailed surveys can be formed. More importantly, it may also inspire future examinations of other Rappahannock River Basin material culture topics, the foundations for which are readily at hand in MESDA's considerable research records.

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Appendix A.

Fredericksburg Area Cabinetmakers, 1760-1825.

The following checklist was taken from MESDA's *Index of Early Artists and Artisans*. An asterisk (*) denotes an artisan for whom MESDA has a photograph of marked work.

- ALCOCK, John. *Cabinetmaker, Seating Chairmaker, Trunk Maker*. Fredericksburg (1792-1805).
- ALCOCK & GREGORY. *Cabinetmakers, Seating Chairmakers*. Fredericksburg (1792).
- ALLAN, James. *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg (1740-99).
- ANDERSON, Nathaniel. *Cabinetmaker, Carpenter*. Caroline County (1766-95).
- *BECK, James. *Cabinetmaker, Windsor and Fancy Chairmaker, Turner, Upholsterer, Painter, Carver, Gilder, Japanner, Venetian Blind Maker*. Fredericksburg (1802-21).
- BENSON, James. *Cabinetmaker*. Caroline County (1809-10).
- BLAYDES, John. *Cabinetmaker*. Spotsylvania County (1793).
- BOWIE, John. *Cabinetmaker*. Port Royal (1812-14).
- *BOWIE, Walter. *Cabinetmaker*. Port Royal (1812-23).
- BURRASS, Thomas. *Cabinetmaker*. Caroline County (1818-24).
- DANIEL, James. *Carpenter, Cabinetmaker*. Caroline County (1801- 15).
- DEAN, William. *Cabinetmaker*. King George County (1798-99).
- DURRETT, Henry. *Cabinetmaker*. Caroline County (1803).
- EATON, George. *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg (1796).
- FRAZER, James. *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg (1817-18).
- GLASGOW (slave). *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg (1798-1809).
- HAZELGROVE, George W. *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg
- JENKINS, William. *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg (1772).
- LAUGHLIN, John. *Cabinetmaker*. Caroline County (1796).
- MCKILDOE, Robert. *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg (1803-04).
- MILLER, Thomas. *Cabinetmaker, Carver*. Fredericksburg (1768-1802).
- NELSON, James. *Cabinetmaker*. Spotsylvania County (1754-64).
- SMITH, Yeamons. *Cabinetmaker, Painter, Bricklayer, Sculptor, Composition Ornament Maker, Sign or Herald Painter, Gilder*. Spotsylvania County (1812-16).
- SPILLMAN, John. *Cabinetmaker*. King George County (1812-18).
- STORKE, George D. *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg (1813-22).
- TANKERSLEY, Richard. *Cabinetmaker*. King George County (1765).
- TAYLOR, John B. *Cabinetmaker*. Stafford County (1820).
- VOWELS, Thomas. *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg (1793).
- WALKER, Alexander. *Cabinetmaker, Warehouseman, Windsor and Fancy Chairmaker, Inlay or Veneer Worker, Turner*. Fredericksburg (1798- 1830).
- WALKER, Robert. *Cabinetmaker*. King George County (1743-65).
- WALKER, Robert. *Cabinetmaker, Turner*. Fredericksburg (1802-1803).
- WALKER, Thomas N. *Cabinetmaker, Seating Chairmaker*.
- WALKER, William II. *Cabinetmaker*. Stafford County (1763).
- WALKER, William. *Cabinetmaker*. Fredericksburg (1807).

Appendix B.

Fredericksburg Area Clock and Watchmakers, 1760-1825.

The following checklist was gleaned from MESDA's *Index of Early Southern Artists and Artisans*. An asterisk (*) denotes an artisan for whom MESDA has a photograph of marked work.

- BROWN, James. *Silversmith or Jeweller, Clock or Watchmaker*. Fredericksburg (1772-1808).
- COWAN, William. *Silversmith or Jeweller, Clock or Watchmaker*. Fredericksburg (1803).
- *CURTIS, Daniel. *Clock or Watchmaker*. Fredericksburg (1816).
- GRIGGS, Ebenezer. *Clock or Watchmaker*. Fredericksburg (1813).
- HUTCHINSON, John. *Clock or Watchmaker, Musical Instrument Maker/ Mender*. Fredericksburg (1820).
- KUNSMAN, Henry. *Clock or Watchmaker, Silversmith or Jeweller*. Fredericksburg (1819).
- LAMPE, John. *Clock or Watchmaker*. Fredericksburg (1775).
- LEWIS, Zachary. *Clock or Watchmaker*. Spotsylvania County (1793- 1803).
- MCCLURE, Samuel. *Clock or Watchmaker, Silversmith or Jeweller*. Fredericksburg (1808).
- PEACOCK, Richard G. *Clock or Watchmaker, Cutler, Silversmith or Jeweller*. Fredericksburg (1817-24).
- PICKETT, George. *Clock or Watchmaker*. Fredericksburg (1815-20).
- *PITTMAN, John. *Silversmith or Jeweller, Clock or Watchmaker, Silver Plater*. Falmouth (1787-95).
- WALKER, James. *Clock or Watchmaker*. Fredericksburg (1791-1803).
- *WALKER, Thomas. *Clock or Watchmaker*. Fredericksburg (1769-91).
- *WEIDEMEYER, John M. *Clock or Watchmaker, Silversmith or Jeweller*. Fredericksburg (1806-22).
- *WEST, Edward. *Gunsmith, Silversmith or Jeweller, Clock or Watchmaker*. Stafford County (1755-88).
- *WHITE, Henry. *Silversmith or Jeweller, Clock or Watchmaker, Silver Plater*. Fredericksburg (1790-1827).
- WHITE, William H. *Silversmith or Jeweller, Clock or Watchmaker*. Fredericksburg (1817-27).

FOOTNOTES

1. William H. Seiner, "Economic Development in Revolutionary Virginia: Fredericksburg, 1750-1810" (diss., College of William and Mary, 1982), 3. Microfilm copies are available at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Main Library. Most of the historical data in this article was derived from Seiner's analysis. Central to his study is the notion that Fredericksburg, like so many other Tidewater market centers, experienced a wide variety of economic highs and lows, particularly after the Revolution and into the early national period.
2. Harold B. Gill, *The Gunsmith in Colonial Virginia* (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1974), 35.
3. Seiner, "Fredericksburg," 6.
4. Seiner, "Fredericksburg," table 20.
5. In many respects the town of Fredericksburg was akin to Petersburg, specifically in its role as a port town that served as a market center for a large rural community. See Jonathan Prown, "A Cultural Analysis of Furniture-making in Petersburg, Virginia, 1760-1820," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, 18, no. 1 (May 1992): 1-8.
6. Thomas Chippendale referred to the bracket clock as a table clock (Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, 1762; reprint, New York: Dover, 1966, 18, pl. 166).
7. Paul Burroughs, *Southern Antiques* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1931), 190, pl. 1.
8. Helen Comstock, "Furniture of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky," *Antiques* 61, no. 1 (Jan. 1952): 73, fig. 81.
9. Wallace Gusler, *Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, 1710-1790* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Museum, 1979), 126-27, 170-75, figs. 84, figs. 117-18.
10. Zachary Lewis Account Book (MS 86 11), Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Va; hereafter cited as CWF.
11. Spotsylvania County, Va., Will Book E, 1772-98, 906.
12. Spotsylvania County, Va., Order Book 1768-74, 264.
13. Gusler, *Williamsburg*, 171.
14. Gusler, *Williamsburg*, 171.
15. Several clockmakers were at work in the Valley during the third quarter of the eighteenth-century. Notable among them were James Huston and Goldsmith Chandlee. James W. Gibbs, *Dixie Clockmakers* (Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Co., 1979), 93-94; Philip Whitney, *The Clocks of Shenandoah* (Stephens City, Va.: P. Whitney, 1983), 27.
16. Wallace Gusler reached the same conclusion about the MFA and CWF clocks. He did not examine the Deerfield clock. Gusler, *Williamsburg*, 173-74.
17. Fredericksburg, Va., Wills, 1782-87, 39.
18. CWF acc. file 1951-397.

19. William Allason paid Henry Coone for "Casting 2 brasses . . . for Saw Mill" on 17 April 1787. William Allason Daybook, 1777-1800, CWF microfilm M-1144.4. The authors wish to thank Nancy Hagedorn of CWF for this reference.
20. The exception is a tall clock movement, now missing its case, marked "James Craig, Williamsburg." Colonial Williamsburg Foundation accession (CWF acc.) 1980-111. Craig was a prominent Williamsburg jeweller and watchmaker. At present it is not known whether the Craig movement is of British or Virginia manufacture.
21. The two remaining clocks are in private hands. The close outward similarity between the clock in fig. 4 and those in figs. 3 and 5 leaves little doubt as to its relationship to the rest of the group. A firsthand examination of the clock in fig. 8 would likely settle the question of whether it is from the same shop or an allied one.
22. Gusler noted the presence of British-style construction on the MFA clock, and pointed out the dramatic difference between such work and the heavier structures of Delaware Valley clocks of similar form. Gusler, *Williamsburg*, 126.
23. Jan Garrett Hind, *The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts* (Winston-Salem, N. C.: MESDA, 1979), 9.
24. William H. Ditson and Robert Bishop, *The American Clock* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1976), figs. 57, 66, and 168.
25. For a discussion of northern English clock cases and illustrations of related Liverpool and northwestern examples, see Brian Loomes, *Grandfather Clocks and their Cases* (Newton Abbot, Devon, England: David and Charles, 1985), 22-24, 147, 163-68, 219-20, 231-32. See also Phillips North West Auction Catalogue (Chester), Sept. 1992, lot 620. The Stratford Hall clock exhibits some of the same features, including a now-missing band of fretwork above the waist door.
26. For information regarding Dr. Thomas Walker, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 10: 360-61.
27. Gusler, *Williamsburg*, 126. The Williamsburg attribution of the MFA clock case was based on several points that now can be interpreted differently in light of discoveries made since 1979. The rosettes on the clock pediment are carved in perspective, an approach once associated with Williamsburg because the square dentil blocks and returns on the cornice of a firmly attributed Williamsburg desk and bookcase (CWF acc. 1978-9) are sawn in perspective as well. However, perspective-carved rosettes were widely used on British clocks. They also appear on northern Virginia work, including the 1757-60 overmantel of the parlor at Mount Vernon in Fairfax County, and the 1798 tombstone of Eleanor Wren at Christ Church in Alexandria, Virginia. A small half-circle appears between each dentil block on the clock, a detail found on furniture attributed to Peter Scott of Williamsburg. Further research now indicates that this detail is a conventional option that appears on many American productions. Examples include a mid-eighteenth-century Charleston cabinet (John Bivins and Forsyth Alexander, *Regional Arts of the Early South*, Winston-Salem, N. C.: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1991, 82), a circa 1775 high chest from Philadelphia (Morrison Heckscher, *American Furniture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York:

Random House, 1985, fig. 168), and a circa 1790 chest-on-chest from southern New Hampshire (Gerald Ward, *American Case Furniture*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Art Gallery, 1989, 39, 185-87). The same detail appears on architectural work such as the drawing room mantel in the circa 1765 Brice House at Annapolis (Lewis A. Coffin, Jr., and Arthur C. Holden, *Brick Architecture of the Colonial Period in Maryland and Virginia*, New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1919, pl. 7). The shape of the waist door on the clock is similar to that on a cherry cabinet long attributed to Williamsburg. However, the same shape appears on clock doors from northwestern England, Rhode Island (Heckscher, *American Furniture*, fig. 189), and Pennsylvania (Battison and Kane, *The American Clock*, 138). New evidence suggests that the cherry cabinet itself, which has a Culpeper County history just west of Fredericksburg, may actually be from that city as well (see note 34). Finally, Gusler noted that the clock case was rabbeted to receive a now missing fretwork band just above the trunk door, a detail associated with Williamsburg work, since the lower edges of the bookcases on Williamsburg-made desks and bookcases are rabbeted to receive the upper sections of their waist moldings. However, recent reexamination reveals that the clock case is not rabbeted. Instead, the upper edge of the fretwork was enframed by the trunk cornice, and the lower edge was held by an applied bead. These discoveries, in addition to the MFA clock's clear structural and stylistic ties to other Walker tall clocks with known histories strongly suggests a Fredericksburg rather than a Williamsburg attribution.

28. Gusler reached a similar conclusion about the larger of the two bracket clocks. Gusler, *Williamsburg*, 173.
29. Spotsylvania County, Va., Order Book, 1738-49, 86; Fredericksburg, Va., District Court Will Book A, 1789-1831, 124.
30. George Washington Ledger A, folio 62, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
31. Fredericksburg City, Va., Wills, 1782-1817, 277.
32. For detailed discussions of cabinetmaking in these towns, see Gusler, *Williamsburg*; Ronald L. Hurst, "Cabinetmakers and Related Tradesmen in Norfolk, Virginia, 1770-1820," (master's thesis, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., 1989); and Prown, "Petersburg."
33. *Williamsburg Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), 20 Oct. 1752.
34. Miller's Scottish birth and probably training are supported by the fact that his three adult siblings still resided in Scotland at the time of his death in 1802. Fredericksburg City, Wills, 1782-1817, 268; *Williamsburg Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 22 Sept. 1768; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 25 June 1772; *Annapolis Maryland Gazette*, 13 Aug. 1772.
35. It is possible that the waste book represents the shop of either James Allan or Thomas Miller. Further research in other Fredericksburg area accounts may eventually reveal the tradesman's identity. Account Book, Unidentified Cabinetmaker, Mss. 63x11, The Winterthur Library; Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del.

36. Gusler, *Williamsburg*, 80-83. Although conceptually akin to a Williamsburg breakfront, gallery-topped clothespress that descended just below Fredericksburg in Essex County (plate 42 in Gusler, *Williamsburg*), this cabinet does not relate directly to any case pieces made in the colonial capital. Its fretwork frieze is more coarsely executed and of a different pattern than frets on Williamsburg forms, including the Byrd family china table (CWF acc. G1980-95). Moreover, the four-petal flower represents a widely used, British-inspired motif. Further differences appear in the removable, fully finished cornice. It is secured to the upper case with large triangular corner blocks that are nailed onto the top of the case and are chamfered along their exposed edges. No known Williamsburg forms display this particular method of attachment. Such structural and stylistic divergences on the cabinet, along with its Fredericksburg-area history and the documented manufacture of similar cherry forms in the unidentified cabinetmaker's waste book, may well indicate a Fredericksburg origin for the piece.
37. Account Book, Unidentified Cabinetmaker.
38. King George County, Va., Order Book, 1735-51, 331, 391, 471; Order Book, 1751-65, 580, 813; Orphans Accounts, 1740-61, 112; Deed Book 6, 184; Fredericksburg City, Va., Wills, 1782-1817, 39. See also the William Allason accounts, including Ledger F, 181; Ledger G, 183; Day Book 1763-65, 11 Feb. 1764; Day Book 1772-73, 22 Aug. 1772. Thanks to Nancy Hagedorn for the Allason references.
39. William Allason Accounts, Ledger F, 118; Ledger G, n. p.; Ledger I, 38; Day Book, 1768-71, 30 Sept. 1768, 1 Oct. 1768, 14 Dec. 1768; Day Book 1772-73, 18 Feb. 1772, 14 Mar. 1772; Day Book 1773-77, 11 Apr. 1775. Thanks to Nancy Hagedorn.
40. Although the word "beech" is torn in the entry regarding timber left with William Walker, the identity of the wood is fairly certain, since the cabinetmaker noted the acquisition of a quantity of beech in the entry just above that regarding Walker. John Mercer Ledger, 1725-50, folio 36 (transcription by Harold B. Gill); Fredericksburg City, Va., Wills, 1782-1817, 39; Account Book, Unidentified Cabinetmaker, 3, 9-11, 14.
41. Walker owned lots 236, 237, 245, and 246 in Fredericksburg. Local tax records from 1788-1802 indicate that two of the lots were sold shortly after his death and that Jane Walker rented apartments in houses on the other two, probably continuing a pattern that began during Thomas's lifetime. For several years, "free negroes" rented space from Jane. Fredericksburg Land Tax Books, 1788-1802, Virginia State Library, Richmond.
42. Fredericksburg City, Va., Wills, 1782-1817, 39.
43. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser*, 19 May 1791. A brief biography of James Walker appears in George Barton Cutten, *Silversmiths of Virginia*, (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1952), 46-47.
44. Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, 3: 43; Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 31 May 1799; Fredericksburg, Hustings Court Order Book D, 250.

45. Alexander Walker, Jr., took over the Falmouth cabinetmaking operation formerly run by his father. Also working in town was a coachmaker named Joseph and another cabinetmaker named Robert, neither of whom apparently had any significant business ties to Thomas Walker's sons. Information on these artisans is available in the MESDA records.
46. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 18 Dec. 1804. The property where Thomas lived and worked from 1804 to 1808 was rented from Margaret Baggott. Interestingly, after 1809 the same space was rented to John M. Weidemeyer.
47. For more on this trend and its significance, see Prown, "Petersburg," 89-92, and Hurst, "Norfolk," 64-70, 84-85, 116-17, 138-46.
48. Richmond *Enquirer*, 19 Aug. 1806.
49. Much of the southern reliance on imported goods in this period sprang from the increasing shop specialization and production capabilities in large northern urban centers. For an analysis of this pattern in Petersburg, see Prown, "Petersburg," 82-85. For a broader overview of southern centers, see Forsyth Alexander, "Cabinet Warehousing in the Southern Atlantic Ports, 1783-1820," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 15, no. 2 (Nov. 1989): 1-42.
50. Wallace Nutting, *Furniture Treasury*, (Framingham, Mass.: Old America Company, 1928), fig. 3266.
51. The clock was owned in the 1920s by William Goodwin and then was subsequently sold to the Wadsworth Athenaeum. It was deaccessioned in 1986 and sold at G. C. Sloan's Auctions in Washington, D. C., on 15 Sept. 1985, lot 1761.
52. It is not clear whether this is a reference to Charleston, located in the middle of present-day West Virginia, or simply a misspelling of Charles Town, which is located in the northeast corner of the state, adjacent to both Pennsylvania and Virginia.
53. He later moved to nearby Monongahela, where he remained through 1821. Biographical information on Hugh Andrews appears in James Biser Whisker, *Pennsylvania Clockmakers, Watchmakers, and Allied Crafts* (Cranbury, N.J.: Adams Brown Co., 1990), 3. Thanks to Cathy Hollan for the 1790s reference to Andrews.
54. Edward A. Lafond observes that clocks from northwestern England are generally rather broad, while Scottish examples tend to be more vertical in format. Conversation between Sumpter T. Priddy and Lafond, 22 Sept. 1992.
55. This clock was sold at Sotheby's York Avenue Galleries as lot 1042 in the sale of 27-30 January 1982. It has not been examined firsthand by the authors.
56. Fredericksburg, Hustings Court Order Book F, 106.
57. Warner and Hanna, *Baltimore City Directory*, 1801.
58. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 23 Oct. 1807.
59. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 24 Nov. 1807; Fredericksburg City, Land Tax Books, 1808-10.
60. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 24 Nov. 1807.
61. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 24 Feb. 1816.
62. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 4 Oct. 1808.

63. James W. Gibbs, *Dixie*, 91.
64. Fredericksburg, Va., District Court Will Book A, 1789-1831, 343.
65. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 16 Apr. 1817.
66. Because this clock was given as a functioning piece of office furniture, instead of for display, it never was accessioned into the collection. No longer in use, the clock remains in storage at the museum.
67. MESDA research file (MRF) S-5353.
68. New Hampshire Auction, Northeast Auctions, 1-2 Aug. 1992, pl. 853. It is presently owned by Estate Antiques, Charleston, South Carolina. Thanks to Jim and Harriet Pratt for providing photographs of this piece.
69. Much of the descriptive terminology for clock movements comes from Battison and Kane, *American Clock, 1725-1865*.
70. Loomes, *Grandfather Clocks*, 204-208.
71. Brian Loomes, *Lancashire Clocks and Clockmakers* (London: David and Charles, 1975), 136.
72. Thanks to Richard Miller of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, CWF, for his insights into painted clock movements and early lettering styles.
73. Comstock, "Furniture," 73, fig. 78. The case is obviously much later than the movement.
74. Battison and Kane, *American Clock, 1725-1865*, pl. 20. More than 125 Miller clocks have been identified. For more regional examples, see William E. Drost, *Clocks and Watches of New Jersey* (Elizabeth, N. J.: Engineering Publishers, 1966) and Chris H. Bailey, *Two Hundred Years of American Clocks and Watches* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1975), 43-44. For a strongly related example by Robert Harland of Norwich, Conn., see Ditson and Bishop, *American Clock*, 56, fig. 107. A Miller clock movement is also in the Colonial Williamsburg Collection, acc. 1953-67.
75. Ditson and Bishop, *American Clock*, 58, fig. 113. A closely related New York example appears in Battison and Kane, *The American Clock*, 106-109.
76. Gregory Weideman, *Furniture in Maryland, 1740-1940* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1984), 128-31.
77. John Bivins identified a New York clock case with a Perquimans County, North Carolina, history in "A Catalog of Northern Furniture with Southern Provinces," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 15, No. 2 (Nov. 1989): 71-72. That clock does not appear to be stylistically related to the clocks discussed in this article except for the striped inlay panels on the case.
78. Such flankers also appear on a Caleb Davis clock, made in Woodstock, Virginia. Gibbs, *Dixie Clockmakers*, 94, fig. 19. New England examples can be cited as well. Battison and Kane, *American Clock, 1725-1865*, pl. 15. It almost certainly was derived from British prototypes. Brian Loomes, *Yorkshire Clockmakers*, (Yorkshire: Dalesman Books, 1972), 50-51, fig. 1.
79. Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA), acc. G1982.21. The clock was built for Thomas O. Acree (1801-1877) of Lynchburg. Both the clock and a ladle, also marked by Williams and

- Victor, descended in the Acree family, who later donated them to the APVA. Another Williams and Victor tall clock was recorded by MESDA (MRF S-7550). The firm's shop regulator survives in the collection of the Lynchburg Museum System.
80. In the 1830s Henry P. Weidemeyer, most likely a relative of John Weidemeyer, worked for Williams and Victor. He apparently came to Lynchburg from Baltimore and married Jehu Williams's daughter, Sarah Jane. The couple returned to Baltimore, where Henry P. Weidemeyer died. Cutten, *Silversmiths*, 68-73.
 81. In 1892 the clock was owned by Alexander Dandridge Spottswood of Orange Grove in Wilderness, Virginia. Letters by him document the clock and its history. Family tradition holds that the clock was first owned by John Spottswood (b. 1774). It descended to his son, John Rowzie Spottswood of Culpeper County in 1836, then to his son A. D. Spottswood in 1888. The latter sold the clock to G. D. Coons on 14 March 1892; Coons was acting as agent for Mr. and Mrs. James McKenney. It then descended to their son Frederic D. McKenney in 1913, thence to his daughter, Frederica McKenney Rapley, in 1949. The clock came to Colonial Williamsburg in 1987 as a gift from her estate. Complete information regarding the clock is available in the object folder file, acc. G1987-547, Department of Collections, CWF.
 82. Loomes, *Grandfather Clocks*, 165-68.
 83. Specifically, only one nail hole is found on the upper edge of each case side, indicating the use of only one seat board/ movement.
 84. This work was carried out at Colonial Williamsburg's Furniture Conservation Laboratory by Albert Skutans. A full conservation report is filed in the object folder (G1987-547). Department of Collections, CWF.
 85. Numerous books and articles concentrating on the prolific Willard family and their manufactures have been written, including John Ware Willard, *A History of Simon Willard, Inventor and Clockmaker* (Boston: E. O. Cockayne, 1911) and Richard W. Husher and Walter W. Welch, *A Study of Simon Willard's Clocks* (Boston: Husher and Welch, 1980). Importantly, the Roxbury case does not represent an idiosyncratic American form, but is a variation on a widely produced British design (Graham Dowler, *Gloucestershire Clock and Watch Makers*, Sussex: Phillimore and Co., 1984, 134, fig. 21).
 86. Valentine Museum, Richmond, Va., acc. 60.156. Gibbs, *Dixie Clockmakers*, 92, figs. 17-18; Cutten, *Silversmiths*, 163-64.
 87. Weideman, *Maryland*, 132-33, fig. 91.
 88. Fredericksburg City, Land Tax Books, 1820-23.
 89. City of Fredericksburg, Wills, 1817-28, 263; Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 9 Sept. 1818, 17 Nov. 1819; Cutten, *Silversmiths*, 40.
 90. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 17 Nov. 1819.
 91. *Lynchburg Press*, 29 Aug. 1817.
 92. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 6 Nov. 1822.
 93. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 30 Nov. 1822.
 94. *Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser*, 11 Mar. 1790, 20 Sept. 1803; Cutten, *Silversmiths*, 43-46.

95. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 7 Aug. 1816. Also in this advertisement is information that White's prosperity was tempered by calamity when fire destroyed his home and shop.
96. Both artisans lived and worked in a three-story brick building on Caroline Street. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 24 Sept. 1817, 9 Nov. 1822; Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, 73: 2453.
97. Fredericksburg City, Wills, 1817-28, 318.
98. MRF S-5002.
99. Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 29 Apr. 1812. In addition to cabinet wares, the Bowie brothers provided coffins to area residents (Caroline County, Va., Will Book 19, 1814-18, 43; Essex County, Va., Will Book 19, 1816-23, 1 Jul. 1820; Will Book 20, 1824-26, 8 May 1823).
100. For a period discussion of the clock and watch making trades, see Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesmen* (1747; reprint, Devon: David and Charles Reprints, 1969), 250-53. Thanks to John Watson of CWF for this reference.
101. Thanks to Stuart Mitchell, Curator of the American Clock and Watch Museum in Bristol, Connecticut, for his valuable insights into transatlantic clockmaking traditions.

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